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ABSTRACT

The articles presented in this document provide a framework for examining concepts of educational modernization in Europe. The document is organized into three parts. Part 1 "European Perspectives" includes: (1) What Is Implied by a "European curriculum"? Issues of Eurocentrism, Rationality, and Education (Sven Erik Nordenbo); and (2) Modern Education as Perception Control (Stephan Sting). Part 2 "Issues of the Modernization Process" includes the following papers: (1) Modernity, Family and Childhood in the Netherlands (Caroline Hetterschijt, Ilonka Sinkeldam, Astrid Valkenburg); (2) History of Child Day Care (Ilse Godtschalk, Mechel Mangelmans); (3) The Garden-City as Educational Climate: Children as Co-designers of Their Own Education (Jeroen Knigge); (4) On Modernization Theories: On Racism and the Role of Education (Ineke van der Valk); and (5) Germans and Other Strangers (Matthias Blum, Anja Kaplyta, Melanie Schmitt, Elke Weiber). Part 3 "Aspects of Schooling and Modernization" provides a discussion of the school systems of Sweden, Denmark, Hungary, Italy, and Greece and contains the following papers: (1) Curriculum Modernization in Sweden (Aadu Ott); (2) The Spirit and Values in the Danish Educational System (Annemarie D. Molina); (3) The Comprehensive School in Denmark (Dorte Madsen); (4) The Free Schools in Denmark (Hanne Hansen); (5) Adult Education in Denmark (Trine Ingeberg); (6) Actual Trends in Danish Educational Policy (Inge Pallesen); (7) Recent Problems in Hungarian Educational Policy (Eva Szabolcs); (8) Education and Modernization in Greece (Z.K. Palios); (9) Technical and Vocational Education in Greece (M. Polychronski); (10) Is the Italian School System Able To Cope with Complexity? Intercultural Exchanges as a Case Study (Andrea Vargiu); and (11) The Italian School System (Edoardo Batrini, Paola Guglielmi, Anna Chiara Lugarini, Marco Solinas). (LL)

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Education and Modernization: The European Experience

The second 'intensive course', Erasmus strand III in Theory and History of Education and Comparative Education, Gazzada (Italy), March 15-27 1993

Edited by
Bernard Kruithof
Stephan Sting

Network Educational Science Amsterdam
NESA
Amsterdam, 1993

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Preface

From March 15 till March 27, 1993, a most successful 'intensive course' in the 'history and theory of education and comparative education', also known as 'strand III', was held in Italy. This was one of the activities of the Erasmus program, coordinated by NESA, Amsterdam. The Università Cattolica del Sacra Cuore of Milan was very generous in supporting this enterprise and did a lot to help all organization being done as smoothly and efficient as could be hoped for. To prepare this course, a program had been made in 1991 by a small committee, viz. Sven-Erik Nordenbo (Copenhagen, Denmark), Richard Aldrich (London, UK) and Bernard Kruithof (Amsterdam, the Netherlands). This draft plan was sent to those who had shown an interest in participating when strand III had a meeting in Amsterdam in the summer of 1992. A collection of relevant articles was sent to all, to enable them to prepare the intensive course. Every participating university had set itself as a task to give one or more lectures, and to prepare a so called national presentation, in which could be shown the students work, as well as information on the national background of the different countries.

Two Swedish students, six Danish ones, four from Germany, seven from Amsterdam, eight from Portugal, five from Crete, four from Italy: all in all 36 students were present in Italy. The Amsterdam staff, comprising of Jeroen Knigge and Bernard Kruithof, was joined by Sven-Erik Nordenbo from Denmark, Joaquim Fereira from Coimbra, Zacharias Palios from Crete and Stephan Sting from Berlin. Luisa Ribolzi from Milan was acting as an intermediary between the group and the University of Milan. Professor Cesarese Scuratti (Milan) had taken it upon himself to give a general lecture, professor Attilio Monaste (Florence) unfortunately was ill and unable to come. One guest from Hungary was present, dr. Eva Szabolcs, who was exploring Europe as part of a Tempus-program. Andrea Vargiu from Milan joined us all the time we were in Gazzada and proved to be an invaluable help, not only as scholar, but also as interpreter and organizer.

Surprisingly hard work and days of really intensive discussions made a stay abroad for all the participants most fruitful, both in an intellectual and in a social way. There can be no doubt about it: all of us had to cope with some kind of culture shock. And moreover, all of us had to struggle again with something very basic, viz. finding a common language. For none of the participants English was a first language, and all of us were forced to find foreign words for what we wanted to say, just like when we were very young.

The first week of our stay in Gazzada, where we were lodged in the beautifully situated Villa Cagnola, the 'Istituto superiore di Studi religiosi', was spent getting to know each other by way of national presentations, which are reprinted in this volume. In the second week groups were formed to have discussions on a range of subjects:

- concepts of education, modernization, Europe;
- themes like gender, curricula, literacy;
- projections of the future of Europe, its relationship to the rest of the world and of the role to be played by education.

Not all of these themes have been fully explored, but we have at least experienced some of the problems and possibilities of a truly European - or shall we simply state human? - community of students of the human behaviour.

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In this volume almost all of the national presentations, as well as the lectures, are reprinted, to enable all of us to continue our steps towards new and better intensive courses and to refresh our memories of an unforgettable stay in Gazzada, Italy.

We have slightly rearranged some of the papers and national presentations to get a better overview. To begin with, two theoretical articles, by Nordenbo and Sting, who both develop some overarching ideas on the theme of the intensive course. The second part of this volume is made up of the presentations by the Dutch contingent, as well as by the German students. In this second part the problems of modernization are tackled, some, like most of the Dutch presentation shows, on a theoretical level, and some illuminating relevant problems of xenophobia and racism. This is particularly true with regard to the contributions of the Dutch student Ineke van der Valk and the German students.

The third part is taken up by discussions of the enormous differences between Danish and Swedish schools on the one hand, Italian and Greek systems on the other hand. The short but powerful statement on Hungary makes it perfectly clear that a lot remains to be done, and not only in Hungary but in the west as well.

Our task as editors was both easy, all the contributions sent to us on floppy disks, and complex, as we are fully aware of the fact that we are simply unable to pass as born and bred Englishmen. It was beyond our capacities to really edit the articles and presentations; we understood perfectly well what everyone was trying to say, and we gladly leave it at that. Not being able to rewrite all the texts, we think perhaps this is not only disadvantageous. To read again what we have heard already 'life in Gazzada' was to us a really thrilling experience. Unfortunately, the contribution of the University of Coimbra did not reach us, so we were forced to be incomplete.

Sad as it always is to leave where one had a good time, we say goodbye to Gazzada and Milan. In the meantime, it is good to know that the university of Crete will be happy to host another 'intensive course' in 1996.

BERNARD KRUITHOF
STEPHAN STING

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Education and modernization: the European experience

Back in the eighties, the European unification process was on its way and in Brussels it was thought to be of utmost importance to spread the idea of a common European culture by organizing more contacts between students in the EC countries. A project went on its way which was called the Erasmus-project and universities were invited to participate. Gustavo Egas Reparaz, University of Amsterdam, got interested, and he went to other universities, asking if they were willing to get in touch with each other by sending students and staff members abroad. He made a series of contacts, Brussels was willing to pay for some of it, and gradually there grew a network, known as NESA (Network Educational Science Amsterdam). That is where the first intensive course in 1990 in Salamanca comes in: good intentions had to be made concrete, we decided to start somewhere and one of the things that could be done was some sort of summer course, a short and intensive course on an educational subject. A lot of improvisation and a lot of hard work done by the university of Salamanca made this very first intensive course possible. For the participants it proved to be a very valuable enterprise. Seven nationalities were represented, thirty five students and some ten teachers. All of them learned a lot about the way, cultures can and do differ and what consequences these differences have on the whole of educating children, school systems and families.

A small steering committee was set up to make sure that this kind of intensive course could be done on a more regular basis, so it devised a plan, the so called *Draft plan for intensive course for strand III*, and we found the people of the University of Milan willing to take it upon them to do the hard and unrewarding work of local organization.

We were aware of the fact that these international meetings can be rather challenging for the participants: we all come from quite different backgrounds. Some of us are going to be teachers in primary or secondary schools; others will devote their powers to supervising workers in all kinds of educational situations; others again are going to be researcher; some are more interested in schools, others are more interested in the interaction in general between children and adults; some are philosophers, others are more sociologists, others again historians.

So what do we speak about when we speak about 'education'. Let me be perfectly clear: we speak about a lot of things at the same time and part of the program was dedicated to convey our idea that education is also, but not only, school and curriculum; the experience of children in a historical perspective; the changing relationships between parents and children; institutionalization and marginalization. All of these are in our opinion aspects of 'education', and we dealt with them during this intensive course.

We also discussed the problem of modernization in relation to education. Like it was pointed out in some of the national presentations, modernization is a container concept, we can use it more or less as it pleases us. One of the reasons for selecting this approach was, that it would enable us to deal with theoretical approaches. But, even more important, that it would help us to learn from our own experiences in dealing with changes in the world around us. The speed and the varieties in all the European countries in this

so called modernization process are very diverging. Particularly interesting is, as it is called in German, 'das Ungleichzeitige des Gleichzeitigen', which accounts for enormous differences between countries, generations, nations, cultures. And for some not negligible part, these experiences our are own experiences, we ourselves learned them the hard way while living.

To compare theoretical and practical experiences we have come together. To get to know each other, all of us have prepared some national presentation and staff members have prepared lectures to tell us something striking from their own educational research, in the framework of our general theme.

'Man makes his own history, but the remnants of the dead past are like a nightmare for the living' as Karl Marx wrote in *The 18th Brumaire*. And not only are we children of Marx, also of Freud, who warned us that repressed memories can turn into neuroses, unrecognizable, but there to hinder us on our way through life. In other words, history and knowledge of things past is of utmost importance to us. And at the same time, we realize that the worlds of our fathers and grandfathers are irrevocably lost. Computers and fax and the European community and a lot more have taken a place in our world, and our grandfathers would not even have been able to guess what could possibly be the use of a personal computer.

It is a cliche to describe our world as a world of change. It was already so in the 18th century, and before: 'all of us who are modern now, will be old fashioned in a couple of years' was an insight then formulated. People have, much more than we realize, always lived in times that were, as in the Chinese curse, 'interesting', times when things changed faster than ever before, on a unknown scale.

Modern is the opposite of traditional. But where does 'modern' start? Historians use the term rather loosely; modern history as post-medieval history. Sometimes there are some watersheds, e.g. the Industrial Revolution, or the French Revolution. Historians of the twentieth century usually denote their period as 'contemporary', to avoid the difficult term 'modern'.

'Modern' has connections with industrial production, capitalist economy, urbanization, secularisation, bureaucratization, and where it all starts and ends is rather unclear.

In the world of arts modern is definitely not post-modern, nor is it contemporary. On the contrary, 'modern art' is a bit old fashioned instead, as in architecture, where the ornament is back and 'form' no longer has to 'follow function'.

In the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* David Lerner defined modernization as 'the current term for an old process - the process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics common to more developed societies'. The concept has been criticised for numerous reasons, and it is impossible to use it in a optimistic way only, as if modern is the equivalent of progress - another word that causes suspicious looks if one uses it inadvertently. Modernization seems to imply an end to ideology, an end to developments, in a peculiar way thereby a denial of the very process it is trying to describe, which is one of constant evolution and development, contrasting modern with traditional - thereby implying a static sort of society, so to speak without history. The term seems to have come full circle, again denoting something static: modern.

Critique notwithstanding, almost all social scientists are working with some notion of a transition from pre-modern to modern society. It is simply hard, as Giddens noted, to

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avoid concepts of modernity and equivalent terms. Brands, a Dutch historian, pointed out that a more sophisticated use of the term modernity is possible by suggesting more than one process of modernization, where different levels of social development can be in sharp contrast to each other, indeed, 'das Ungleichzeitige des Gleichzeitigen', as is done by Wehler and other modern German historians.

Modernization should be used with caution, as a concept to point out relations between changes in production of food and industrial products, mentalities as a whole, including pedagogical and educational ways of thinking and reasoning, demographic changes or even transitions, etc.

I think it is fairly reasonable to stress continuing changes in the world around us. On the other hand, however, there are some fairly stable institutions, like the family, where changes are important but also continuity can be discerned. Already the nineteenth century had its famous debates about the decline of the family, and since that time its swan song has been repeatedly heard, without, however, the total loss of family life. School is another example of longevity. What is so modern about the family? And what is so modern about the school?

'Modernization and education: the European experience' proved to be a very fruitful theme. We have exchanged points of view, information but perhaps even more important: we have been able to meet students from all over Europe, to make intensive contacts, personal and scientific. We have experienced the modernization process ourselves.

BERNARD KRUITHOF

Part I. European Perspectives

What is Implied by a 'European Curriculum'?

Issues of Eurocentrism, Rationality and Education

Modernity and Eurocentrism

In the 15th and 16th centuries the northern part of Italy experienced a revival of classical Greek culture. In the history of ideas this movement is described as Humanism and has been characterized as a Renaissance. Europe awoke from its medieval sleep and, in conjunction with an accelerating market economy and a technology brought about by the new natural sciences, the movement was dispersed to the whole of Europe - *modernity* was invented. At the end of the 18th century the French revolution materialized the political nature of modernity as democracy although it very soon became clear that this nature could also degenerate into a terrifying dictatorship. At the same time the intellectual spirit of modernity manifested itself in the Age of Enlightenment, whereas its economic aspect first came into full maturity with the developed capitalism of the 19th and 20th centuries. And with capitalism came mass formal education (cf. Ramirez & Boli 1987).

From a historical point of view modernity is perceived first and foremost as a unique European invention. Contemporary critiques have underlined some of modernity's 'dark sides' - its large-scale destructive potential in relation to the material environment, its totalitarian possibilities (fascism, stalinism), and its industrialist military power (cf. Giddens 1990, 7-10). To the *non*-Europeans, who in the wake of the decolonization period of World War II struggled desperately to create modern states, Europe appeared as the Promised Land of milk and honey: not only a continent consisting of scientific and affluent societies, but also a continent of democracy, human rights and education for everyone. Even the more advanced states of the world - USA and Japan - are perceived precisely in this respect as specimens of *European* modernity, but at its most developed stage.

For the Third World the economic promises have been long in coming. The prospective fulfilment through free market and capitalist production seems to cause political values other than democracy and human dignity. These are cultural oppression, economic exploitation, and political dependence - exerted by the very utopia itself, the practitioners of European modernity (see e.g. Freire 1970). In this perspective it can not be surprising that the expression 'eurocentrism' in the 1960s was introduced to describe not only the tendency to look towards Europe as a model to be imitated by the rest of the world but also to question the view that European development and culture is the only desirable future. The concept of 'eurocentrism' has thus come to be used both descriptively and normatively as a derogatory term.

In the last twenty to thirty years Europe has experienced a new political movement of co-operation in the European Communities. Included in this movement is an effort to enlarge the co-operation to the educational area, i.e. to develop a 'European curriculum'

which can coordinate better and contribute more efficiently to the economic and political development of Europe than the existing national curricula in the individual member countries (cf. McLean 1990; Röhrs 1992). But to develop and to introduce a specific 'European curriculum', does that not imply exactly a strengthening of the very European 'eurocentrism' so strongly under attack at the present time? It seems so.

To accept, however, the expression 'eurocentrism' as a concept with negative connotations is - in a certain perspective - to reject European modernity with all its implications, including democracy, human rights and mass education. It could be that this is precisely what we ought to do. But before this is admitted it seems worthwhile - as heirs of European modernity - to contemplate whether the concept of 'eurocentrism' could be given another - an affirmative - interpretation. It could be argued on the one hand that for Europeans to contemplate 'eurocentrism' as a derogatory term is, on the other hand, to confirm some important values inherent in the European modernity under attack.

Thus, it is high time for unearthing whether the prevailing opinion of 'eurocentrism' is the only reasonable one. And if that is not the case, to look for an alternative - more optimistic - interpretation and its possible implications for a 'European curriculum'.

In the following paper I will pose three questions about the interpretation of the concept of 'eurocentrism' and will briefly state three theses in response to them.

The three major questions can be put forward as follows: (1) Which interpretations of 'eurocentrism' is it worthwhile to contemplate? (2) Which of these interpretations is preferable? And (3) which implications do the preferred interpretation of 'eurocentrism' hold for 'European curriculum policy'?

It is *first* claimed that 'eurocentrism' can be interpreted as either 'cultural chauvinism', 'cultural relativism' or as 'alternativism'. *Secondly*, that it is preferable to interpret 'eurocentrism' as 'alternativism', i.e. the view that alternatives are to be found for every descriptive, as well as normative, assertion. Thus interpreted, the concept of 'eurocentrism' does not imply a definite corpus of accepted beliefs but requires the rational examination of all our beliefs. To fulfil this task a range of individual liberties has to be presupposed. *Thirdly*, that every European educational system must, at a basic level, state the implications of 'alternativism', i.e. the values of rational thinking, including a discussion of the value of rational European culture and the implications of the value of rationality in itself. This implies at the same time taking a stand on the question of a 'European curriculum'.

THREE CONCEPTIONS OF 'EUROCENTRISM'

The expression 'eurocentrism' can be interpreted in many ways, but it cannot be thought about without thinking of Europe itself. Thus, the expression refers to the fact that something, e.g. the education system of a non-European country, or someone, e.g. a prominent non-European author, is centred on Europe ('descriptive eurocentrism'), or that appeals to such a centring either should or should not take place ('normative eurocentrism'). The expression, therefore, implies that one has become conscious of the existence of the 'non-European', or that one realizes that cultural meetings and battles are taking place between 'Europeans' and 'non-Europeans'.

As a starting point for unfolding the implicit meaning of the expression 'eurocentrism' three central interpretations will be expressed. In the relevant sequence of histo-

rical time they also indicate a linear progression in European conceptions of the relationship between European culture and other cultures.

Cultural Chauvinism

The first way to grasp such a meeting has been indicated by the German-Italian philosopher Vittorio Hösle in his analysis of Hegel's appraisal of Indian culture (cf. Hösle 1984).

Western fascination with Eastern cultures is not new but also existed in Hegel's time. But in contrast to other contemporary philosophers, as e.g. Schlegel and Von Humboldt, Hegel did not share this enthusiasm. According to Hegel, one has to leave intact the Indian culture with its special norms, values and behaviours. For a culture does not allow us to be judged from the outside with foreign yardsticks. Conceived as a way of life and a specific language game, every culture is closed in on itself. Hegel nevertheless studied the Indian culture applying to it his general philosophy of history. The meaning and aim of history is universal freedom and a consciousness of universal freedom. History yields no aim beyond freedom, and also in a geographical global perspective the universal history process tends in an unambiguous direction: from the East to the West. 'Die Weltgeschichte geht von Osten nach Westen, denn Europa ist schlechthin das Ende der Weltgeschichte. Asien der Anfang' (Hegel 1837, 134).

Described here is a way of understanding the meeting between European and non-European cultures which later, in the second half of the former century, should broadly be accepted by the name of *cultural evolutionism* - along with groups not sharing the Hegelian metaphysics. Other cultures were perceived as in preliminary states to, or deposits after, a unilinear cultural development the last stage of which is the western European culture. In this conception the descriptive and normative aspects of eurocentrism are united and - from a European perspective - assessed as a positive phenomenon.

This cultural evolutionary point of view has rightly been considered to be *chauvinistic*. Especially after World War II, as mentioned above, the perception of everything western European as that which one ought to centre on - even when this culture only expresses itself implicitly through the spread of western capitalism to the rest of the world - has been criticised by many representative writers from the Third World. See in particular Amin (1988, 8) who discusses the viewpoint as an example of *'culturalism'* (cf. also Booth 1979).

Cultural Relativism

Apart from the special feature of chauvinism, Hegel's point of view has much in common with modern cultural anthropology in the way it came to be expressed at the beginning of this century.

In 1906 the American sociologist W.G. Sumner created the term 'ethnocentrism' as a social-scientific concept. By this he referred to an inescapable inclination, caused through the influence of their 'folkways', that any ethnic group (people, nation, society, etc.) has to distinguish to some extent between an 'in-group' and an 'out-group': 'Each group nourishes its own pride and vanity (...) and looks with contempt on outsiders. Each group thinks its own folkways the only right ones (...)' (Sumner 1906, 12f).

In sociology, social psychology and ethnology the expression 'ethnocentrism' has since become absorbed into many different connections. It played a larger role as part of a well established hypothesis on 'cultural relativism' especially within American cultural anthropology. In this connection its inventor, the American anthropologist F. Boas

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(1911), already emphasized intercultural tolerance as the counterweight to ethnocentrism. This theme became specifically important after World War II.

A modern European version of this view is represented by Claude Lévi-Strauss. In a speech to the Unesco organisation in 1971, he attacked the organisation's utopian idea that one day all people of all cultures, in spite of different race, religion, and values, could live as brothers and sisters in an all-embracing unified culture (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1983, 21-48). Lévi-Strauss criticises the prevailing western approach that culture and cultural differences are only superficial, whilst real human nature exists beyond culture. We may instead, he points out, perceive our own identity as bound up with our culture. For a culture to survive it can be necessary and legitimate, therefore, to stand firm and to fight against other cultures. A meeting between two cultures resembles, according to Lévi-Strauss (1983, 30), two trains passing one another - they travel in their own direction at their own pace. A person who sits in one of the trains is able to go into another compartment and talk with his fellow travellers but can get only a glimpse of the travellers in the other train.

At the same time cultural relativism rejects any transcultural grounds for comparative evaluations of different cultures. Other cultures' fight against eurocentrism is, seen from this perspective, a necessity. It follows that eurocentrism neither can be praised nor condemned as such. This can only be done within a given context. And as the cultures 'speak' inside different contexts, on the point of view of cultural relativism they cannot speak about the same thing. Thus, the dominant approach towards the cultures becomes rather aesthetic. This position parallels the way ethical propositions are perceived within ethical subjectivism.

Alternativism

Cultural relativism is right in claiming that no neutral basis exists for cultural meetings. It is nevertheless possible to adopt an attitude to other cultures. The English anthropologist Robin Horton has stressed that all too often we disregard the significance of the *theoretical* basis of our own western culture. Horton is thinking here of theories as hypotheses that enter into our scientific knowledge.

When one has compared traditional cultures with our own scientific culture, it has occurred within the framework of the dichotomy of the non-scientific against the scientific. Horton stresses that there are both similarities and differences between traditional cultures and our scientific culture. A central similarity is that just as scientific culture is built on theory, so traditional culture has its own theory. One can find in a culture's cosmology, for example, its perception of how the world is and how it should be. Traditional cultures are not without theories or without interest in knowledge and explanation. For Horton, the central point is not the different substance and contents of the theories but the different cultures' and people's *behaviour* and *attitude* to the theories and their successes and failures. What happens in traditional cultures if a theory, and with it perhaps the world picture, breaks down? It is here that the central difference between the traditional cultures and our western culture can be seen.

'What I take to be the difference', says Horton, 'is a very simple one. It is that in the traditional cultures there is no developed awareness of alternatives to the established body of theoretical tenets, whereas in scientific cultures, such an awareness is highly developed. It is this difference we refer to when we say that traditional cultures are "closed" and scientifically orientated cultures "open"' (Horton 1977, 153).

By building on this differentiation, a valuable characteristic of two types of societies is introduced. But this assessment is not based on the well-known opposition between societies founded on magic and societies founded on scientific knowledge. By stressing that the traditional societies' cosmologies are regarded as theories that are fundamental to the orientation of these cultures in the world, and by calling attention to their societies' reliance on their theories as a central point, Horton also gives a new basis for the assessment of European scientific culture. A traditional society's attitude to its theories is characterised by a missing sense for, and consciousness of, or straight rejection of, possible alternative theories. The nature and 'closedness' of the society is founded in this. The missing sense for alternatives partly implies that theories in closed societies tend towards absolutism, towards religious status and function. A menace to the theories and their associated world picture's 'validity' can be experienced as a menace to the whole society and its basic ideas: '...any challenge to established tenets is a threat of chaos, of the cosmic abyss, and therefore evokes intense anxiety' (ibid).

In the opposite, open, society theories and world views are perceived as hypotheses. The break down of a theory or world picture is regarded as a recognisable progression and not as a decay of society as such. It is this difference between traditional and European scientific society I call *alternativism*. Alternativism formulates a way of behaving within a culture and also implies a critical attitude towards one's own culture.

'EUROCENTRISM' AS ALTERNATIVISM

Three interpretations of the concept 'eurocentrism' are set out above. Using Lévi-Strauss's metaphor, we can say that *cultural chauvinism* perceives eurocentrism in the picture of a long train, in which European culture travels in the front, first class, carriage whilst the remaining cultures find themselves in the last carriage of the train - or eventually thrown out of it. For the representatives of these remaining cultures it would be in order to jump to the front of the train. *Cultural relativism* has already drawn a picture of two trains that pass each other; they travel in their own direction and at their own pace. Will *alternativism* reproduce a similar picture which, for example, goes as follows? The different cultures are like trains that run on different tracks in a larger railway system. The passengers can change trains at the stations, where more trains are stopping. The railway system and the placement of the stations are under constant rebuilding so as to improve the traffic's operation.

It should be clear that with this last picture I have done no more than to refer to a feature of western scientific culture that may be considered essential. In a fundamental way, the European tradition implies a commitment to reason. It is claimed, at all levels, that to hold a position it is presupposed that one can give a *reason* for it. Put shortly: European culture is centred on reason and rationality. And along with that, an acceptance of the attitude that no other points are relevant for recognition of a position than its supporting reasons. To develop this attitude a range of social conditions has to be complied with to make sure that every possible argument, for or against, can be put forward. Thus, this centrism on reason also implies an appeal to human rights.

Perceiving 'eurocentrism' in this way means that dangers of cultural chauvinism are avoided. Alternativism does not imply that a definite European belief is more

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sacrosanct than a non-European view. A European view of a herb's curative effect is not, for instance, 'more right' than a non-European (natural medical) view - only a test of the views can substantiate their validity. Alternativism, in fact, implies a more modest ambition with regard to the possibility of creating an all-embracing cosmology. The recognition that alternatives can always be thought of with regard to the prevailing view liberates us from orthodox restraint on the one hand, but at the same time places us - intellectually speaking - in a little boat in the open sea with no safe harbour in sight. Eurocentrism viewed as alternativism is not a philosophy of life, and therefore cannot supply a general answer to a range of existential questions.

If eurocentrism can also be written as alternativism, this means that eurocentrism is *not* centred on Europe but on reason and rationality. This point can, as indicated above, be regarded as something positive. We ought not, therefore, to bow the head when the word 'eurocentrism' appears. Although there has been powerful disagreement on a range of specific issues, 'eurocentrism' represents precisely that behaviour and attitude, which in the long run has made it possible for Europe to work together constructively.

EUROCENTRISM AND A 'EUROPEAN CURRICULUM'

McLean has pointed out that within the European Communities each of the twelve countries has its own traditional and dominant conceptions of what knowledge is of most value. From this he concludes that a common European curriculum 'is the least likely outcome of even the most integrationist schemes of European unification' (McLean 1990, 1). A survey of the teaching of Philosophy in the upper secondary schools in western Europe carried out by the present author, confirms McLean's premises for the subject Philosophy which, to some of the most pertinacious believers in a unified 'European curriculum', has been considered the most likely candidate for promotion of 'European identity' (Nordenbo 1989 & 1993). But although some of McLean's premises are correct his conclusion does not of necessity follow.

Looking at the European integration process in the last twenty years, it can be shown not only that the incentives to co-operation within the educational area have grown considerably from the mid-eighties but also that primary and secondary education has been affected by the harmonizing process more than ever before. On the level of the European Communities, i.e. 'of the Council and the Ministers of Education Meeting within the Council' - the decisive breakthrough came with the resolutions of 24 May 1988 (*OF* 88/C 177/01-07 of 6 July 1988), in which 'the European dimension in education' was given a concrete and detailed mention, uniquely compared with any previous resolutions on this idea (cf. Breukel 1992, 42-43, 83).

Apart from this question on the increasing European harmonization of national education systems another consideration can be pointed out. In a recent comparative study conducted by the American sociologist John A. Meyer and co-workers on primary curricula viewed in a world context, it has been demonstrated that curricular outlines all over the world tend to be surprisingly similar across very disparate sorts of countries.

'Beyond whatever bias may be built into our method', say John W. Meyer and David H. Kamens, 'the most important finding in our research is the relative homogeneity of the world's primary curricular outlines in the twentieth century (...). Further, we notice a

pronounced tendency for curricular changes in particular countries to parallel each other and to take the form of conformity to world curricular patterns' (Meyer et al. 1992, 165-166).

Against this background it seems more sensible to discuss not whether, in the nearest future, a common 'European curriculum' is likely to come into existence, but rather how the concept could be given a sensible interpretation, one which it is worthwhile politically to fight for.

Starting from the three interpretations of the concept 'eurocentrism' given above, three distinct conceptions of a 'European curriculum' can be advanced. First, one which emphasizes the content of European culture as the culmination of the world's cultural development; secondly, one which considers European culture as consisting of a number of incommensurable cultures; and finally, one which points to universal values in European culture *and* recognizes the existence of a multitude of cultural alternatives.

European curriculum as 'European cultural highlights'

The first interpretation links to the conception of European culture as the developmental culmination of the cultural history of the world. Non-European cultures are perceived as in preliminary states to or deposits of this unilateral development. For that reason, if one wants to create a 'European curriculum' it has to be built on the most outstanding culture presently in existence - the European.

This curricular attitude towards other cultures equals 'eurocentrism' perceived as 'cultural chauvinism'. This is not, however, the only argument for turning it down. Even in a European context this curricular attitude builds on indefensible arguments. First and foremost the conception of the existence of a coherent, pan-European cultural content: the national cultures which make up, for instance, the cultural content in Denmark, England, France and Italy have far from that number of common denominators as a superficial consideration suggests. It is exactly these premises which McLean points out and which particular studies of instruction in individual subjects in a number of national states have confirmed. Add to this a growing tendency to justify the cultural *raison d'être* not primarily at the national level but at the *regional* level in Europe. To create a 'European curriculum' as a *'materiale Bildungstheorie'*, i.e. as a general education focusing on matter of education not on manner of education - to apply a terminology developed by the German educationist Wolfgang Klakfi (1963, 27-32) - is to build on a fiction of the existence of a united pan-European cultural content. There does not exist just one European cultural content but a complexity of European cultural contents (cf. Morin 1987).

European curriculum as 'multitudes of Volksgeist'

The existence of a complexity of European cultural traditions without any obvious common denominator makes it natural to take this fact as a point of departure in an attempt to establish a 'European curriculum'. If such a concept of 'something common (European) without anything in common' shall become not a *contradictio in adjecto* it has to be supported by a thesis about the relativity of national cultures, i.e. their individual independence and incommensurability. Historically this idea was launched by the eighteenth century German philosopher Johann Gotfried Herder who claimed that all understanding and living depends on a relationship to a given social whole and its unique past - the *Volksgeist*. This view is, according to Isaiah Berlin, one of Herder's *sui generis* doctrines, which

Berlin gives the name of *pluralism*, i.e. 'the belief not merely in the multiplicity, but in the incommensurability, of the values of different cultures and societies and, in addition, in the incompatibility of equally valid ideals (...)' (Berlin 1976, 153).

This curricular attitude towards other cultures equals 'eurocentrism' perceived as 'cultural relativism'. Although his doctrine in no way was intended by Herder to justify the nationalist racism of the 20th century, it has been rendered probable by Alain Finkielkraut (1987) that the attitude implies precisely the collapse of reason and of compassion - *'la défaite de la pensée'* - that sort of irrationalism which ravages ex-Yugoslavia today. No 'European curriculum' can be founded on a conception originated from a theory of 'cultural Darwinism'.

European curriculum as 'curricular alternativism'

If a 'European curriculum' has not to be drowned in blood of the barbarism of the *Volksgeist* but has still to recognize, at the same time, the existence of a multitude of cultural traditions, there seems to be only one feasible way out:'to adopt the curricular attitude towards other cultures which equals 'eurocentrism' perceived as 'alternativism'. To translate this attitude and behaviour into curricular guidelines for a 'European curriculum', means to formulate restraints which any national and/or regional curriculum within Europe have to accept to be recognized as a specimen of *European* curriculum. Thus, it is argued that the concept of *a* 'European curriculum' is viable if it is worked out as a curricular instrument for assessment of European national and/or regional curricula.

Against the background of the discussion on 'alternativism', three conditions which any 'European curriculum' has to meet can be outlined:

(1) *The principle of critical attitude.* One of the aims of education is to impart to the pupils a behaviour and an attitude that alternatives are to be found for every descriptive, as well as normative, assertion, and that every position has to have supporting reasons. In general, this implies a critical attitude towards one's own culture, its cosmology and values, and a commitment towards the values of rational thinking, including a discussion of the value of rational European culture and the implications of the values of rationality it itself.

(2) *The principle of curricular pluralism.* Alternativism does not imply a definite curriculum content or a singularity of curriculum, and does not, therefore, support a pan-European curriculum. Instead it implies that the existence of a multitude of national and/or regional curricula contributes to development of an alternativist attitude.

(3) *The principle of free discussion and human rights.* Alternativism implies no philosophy of life *(Lebensanschauung)* nor general answers to existential questions. Instead, it offers a framework for free discussion and presupposes the recognition of human rights.

The three principles established here need no implementation in national curricula of a number of member countries of the European Communities. A very large majority of European population recognizes already the values embedded in curricular alternativism.

Why do we need then to formulate curricular principles which European curricula have to meet? Because different political forces within the European Communities want *either* to promote a integrationist curricular scheme of common European cultural content *or* to annihilate the universal values of reason and human rights, Europe's most precious offer to the world community. To formulate the three principles is to call attention to restraints which any national and/or regional curriculum have to

acknowledge to be recognized as truly a 'European curriculum'.

CONCLUSION

The argument is given above that 'eurocentrism' - in contrast to the usual understanding - can be given a positive interpretation. 'Eurocentrism' interpreted as 'alternativism', means that one avoids both being caught by cultural chauvinism's Charybdis and the task of cultural relativism's Skylla. At the same time one retains the hermeneutic insight that every culture always interprets other cultures within its own framework. To perceive 'eurocentrism' as 'alternativism' encourages the view that European culture is centred on reason and rationality, not on a fictitious pan-European cultural content nor on a definite philosophy of life.

In the educational area alternativism implies 'curricular alternativism', i.e. a curricular instrument for assessment of European national and/or regional curricula, based on the three principles of (1) critical attitude, (2) curricular pluralism, and (3) free discussion and human rights. Only national and/regional curricula passing this test have own the right to be called a 'European curriculum'.

SVEN ERIK NORDENBO

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Modern education as perception control

The development of modern European education in the 18th century has its source in the mind of the Enlightenment. Its precondition was the change from local traditions, from limited wisdom and obligations and from orientations in specific social standings to general principles which were universally accessible. Modern education is no longer interested in educating people for a Christian life, but in educating them to become human beings in the sense of a generally binding ideal of humanity. It seeks its criteria in a human reason from which all values and orientations have to be derived. In this context Rousseau reversed the relationship between state and religion, and he established the ideal of a human society as the standard by which all values were to be measured. He wrote: 'All that which destroys the social unit is no good. All institutions which bring man into contradiction with himself are no good' (Rousseau 1977, 146).

In this sense Kant conceived ethics and morals corresponding to the premises of an ideal social existence. He imagined them as a kind of 'Religion within the limitations of simple reason' (Kant 1923). The ideal community must depend on a general welfare which offers equal rights and equal chances of education and participation to everyone. To protect this equality and freedom for all, Kant developed a rational moral law which had a quasi natural character and was supposed to correspond to the natural tendency of human beings to the good (Kant 1923, 158).

At the moment we can observe many attempts in Germany to reconstruct a new educational theory by going back to the roots of modern education. The problem of these reconstructions is that most of them do not take into account the fact that the modern concepts of education, nature and society are the result of specific European ideas. The predominance of reason in the relationship between the individual and his environment represents an achievement of the 'process of civilisation' that runs through the history of European societies. It is based on the work of disciplining which puts the individuals under pressure and establishes in the terms of Elias a self-evident and uniform 'background of stored violence' (Elias 1982, 325). Until the 18th century 'civilisation' was the distinguishing characteristic of the Occident that guaranteed its superiority. Afterwards it became the characteristic of humanity in general and available to everyone. Civilisation seemed to be a quasi natural fitness for social existence, the condition of the existence of a person as citizen in the civil society.

Parallel to the assertion of civilisation which established a reflected and distanced relationship between the individual and society, the presentation and imparting of social knowledge by the way of printed books became generalized. In the 18th century in many European countries a national book market as well as the ability to read and write were expanding and made the imparting of knowledge with the help of writing rapidly part of everyday life (Ong 1987). The precondition of the distribution of written knowledge was the institution of an education which promoted the ability to read and write. The relation between the subject and knowledge was determined by the process of writing: the subject acquired knowledge by way of a critical, distanced lesson. In printed books knowledge is presented in a clear, regular and well-ordered form. One effect of reading is a specific kind of perception: the reader assumes the same

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rigid posture to every form of knowledge, he looks at different knowledge from the same fixed perspective (McLuhan 1968, 25).

At the same time a new pictorial representation was created. The fixing of perspective by reading corresponded to a perspective image that was accepted in the 'realistic' painting about 1800. The development of perspective led to quasi natural representations which sacrificed the composition of the picture in favour of realistic detail (Lemargny in Lehner/Pfäffli 1990, 270). With the introduction of photography this kind of pictorial aesthetics became mechanized and standardized, it became the usual and accepted representation of the visual world.

Therefore three specific relationships between the subject and his environment arose which represented from this point on the self-evident, unreflected premises of the European world relationship: the relation to the others or to the social community was conceived by way of civilisation and the predominance of reason, the relation to social knowledge was regulated by way of reading and writing and the circulation of books, the relation to the sensual perception of the environment was realized by way of perceived pictorial representation. In all instances it is the fact of the particular, formalized procedures which permit a reference to the environment accessible to everyone, independently of each concrete situation or appearance. The problem of modern education is that these particular procedures have to be mediated as quasi natural, generally binding conditions for educating socially competent subjects. At the beginning of his educational novel Rousseau describes this dilemma in two contradictory sentences: 'All is good that comes from the hand of the Creator, and all degenerates under the hand of man'. Whereas, 'under today's conditions a man left to his own devices from his birth onwards would be completely ill-educated' (Rousseau 1981, 9).

Modern education unfolded under the tension between postulated natural life and the dependence on particular social situations, between the ideal of a human being who is able to accept socially mediated truth as absolute as well as the restrictions and distortions of actual social conditions. Yet it fails to live up to its claim to generality and to education of real humanity even from the beginning: first, it uses particular, culturally determined procedures to establish a relationship between the pedagogical subject and his environment, then it hides the unnaturalness of its supposed natural status in the disciplining and control of the pupil's perception. The enlightenment of the pupil is prevented by pedagogical operations of exposure, which reduce the generality of the process of education to concrete historical and social coincidences as well as to the subjective arbitrariness of the educator.

In the following I will point out some implications of Rousseau's educational theory concerning the pedagogical control of the pupil's perception and his relationship to his environment. Afterwards I will analyze how these implications are related to new forms of representation and perception by the use of typography and photography. Finally, I want to explain some consequences of modern education by confronting Rousseau's prototype Emile with a negative or 'Anti-Emile', as I have designated the figure of Kaspar Hauser.

NEGATIVE EDUCATION AND PERCEPTION CONTROL

Rousseau's concept of negative education contains primarily the constitution of a pedagogical zone, which is insulated against all uncontrolled influences of the outside

world. The teacher does not appear as an instructor, he remains invisible; but he guarantees by his permanent presence a continous control of the field of perception of the pupil (Rousseau 1981, 27). Because the control is total and from scratch on the pupil knew nothing else and therefore he knows nothing outside of the pedagogical framework, his dependence seems to be unavoidable and natural. Rousseau designated childhood as an insulated existence on a secluded island, like the life of Robinson Crusoe. This was necessary because Rousseau attributed original natural goodness to man, which he had to protect from the corrupting influences of perverted society.

The isolation of the child in a particular world corresponds to the tendency of bourgeois society to confine childhood in the defined spheres of school and family. The school created an independent, demarcated world as a place for learning, where social knowledge could be mediated with the help of books and writing (Already by Comenius 1960, 90f). The world of school took on the function of a filter, which led to a threefold limitation of the perception of the pupils: by separating them from society, by the selection of knowledge according to the available written material and by a perspective which corresponded to the value criteria of the teacher. And even before entering school the distance between the child and the rest of society was guaranteed by the modern family which separated itself from the world and confronted society with the 'retired group of parents and children' (Ariès 1980, 554f). The modern family became an essential precondition of civil society because it bridged the gap between natural man and civilized man who was the basis of Rousseau's educational theory. As the place of production of civilized or rather 'human' men, the family seemed to Rousseau to be the 'model of political societies' from which he derived his idea of the modern state (Rousseau 1977, 7).

Rousseau characterized the isolation of the child as a self-evident condition for the pedagogical relationship. When the pupil is locked up in his pedagogical zone, education can exclude all particular forms of instruction or pre-structured education in favour of 'natural maturing'. As nature, with the help of photography, was represented without subjective composition or creation, so the child should educate itself without the assistance of pedagogues. The pedagogue became an artist in creating frameworks determining the details of the picture and guaranteeing the adherence to perspective and by his permanent, yet invisible, presence, he secured the gap between the environment and the pupil. In this context, a new form of learning is effected as a correspondence of a pedagogically limited and completely constructed experience which permanently confronts the pupil with conditions that make him aware of 'responsibility' and 'necessity' (Rousseau 1981, 70). Rousseau rejected education by formal learning and emphasized the educational value of natural experience.

In the natural experience of Emile, a busy pedagogical activity is hidden which strives to prevent the failure of education by making possible a 'successful experience', by maintaining the conditions of a positive educating experience (Schäfer 1989, 48f). With the help of perception control and the reduction of his relationship with his social environment at least it leads to the education of the imagination. In addition to these restrictions, images of fantasy and positive ideals are supplied, above all the figure of the dream partner Sophie and the idealized married state that are supposed to protect him from the attractions of bad illusions. By the reference to experience, prescribed ideals and the idea of humanity, the relation between experience and concept, as strived for by

Rousseau, is reversed. Instead of progressing from experience to understanding and reason, experience is constituted from the beginning by the understanding and reason of the educator. Therefore at all levels the pedagogical course, from concrete experience to understanding, is confronted with a constructed, calculated experience which is inextricably mixed up with the knowledge, the social descriptions and the pictorial representations of the educator.

Emile's world is the result of pedagogical exposure, not enlightenment. At the same time it conceals the permanent effective power of written concepts: first, the whole theory is based on written fiction that is bound up with an educational novel which has no relationship with reality. Furthermore, Rousseau described Emile's experiences as a lesson in the 'book of nature'. Nature became a book open to everyone; reading and experience were mixed together just like the nature of Emile with the rules of the educator. The pedagogical framework corresponds to the picture created by the arrangement of a written text. The order of events originates from a world construction accompanied by writing, that brings reading and life together. The result of the mingling of reality and fiction is a 'well-ordered fre dom' in which the fact of arrangement cannot be recognized by the pupil. By perception control, obedience is replaced by factual necessities which make the child feel its own incompetence and powerlessness instead of a sense of duty (Schäfer 1989, 51f).

Despite its postulated reference to a natural evolution modern educational theory contains many premises: the fiction of the good nature of the pupil which is accessible to reason, the fiction of a clearly recognizable and ideal objectivity from which one can derive criteria for the construction of a pedagogical field of experience contrary to the distortions and perversities of society and social knowledge, and the readiness to learn which should result from the strategic institutionalisation of experiences of powerlessness and from the hope of gaining the ability to overcome them. The pedagogical zone should stimulate the pupil to engage in a permanent self-improvement. First education aims at 'learning how to learn', at the motivation for learning which lies within the self-responsibility of the self-disciplined, civilized man and which does not need any particular didactic principles (Sting 1991, 168). For instance in the case of reading and writing, Rousseau rejects all formal teaching methods; reading and writing simply become 'talking to those not present' and appear as natural events. Emile obviously finds in his pedagogical zone writings, letters that are 'clearly and beautiful written' (Rousseau 1981, 101), that are written as if they had been printed. The existence of printed texts demands that Emile is able to read and write; the quasi natural confrontation with writing is supposed to excite an interest in understanding, so that the pupil learns on his own without the help of any special pedagogical instruction.

Rousseau's pupil is surrounded by a pedagogically reduced and written world whose consistence and coherence is created by inaccessible rules which finally places him in the social order without his being able to overcome their pedagogical limitations. The problematic tension between the ideal of humanity and the realized preparation for a specific social existence in a particular situation is mediated by establishing perception control which the pupil experiences at the end of his education as a kind of imprisonment. Rousseau wrote: 'Even at the feet of Sophie he cannot stop occasionally having a look at the fields (...). Nevertheless he stays if he has to stay. But he is uneasy and restless. He seems to fight

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against himself. He stays because he is chained up. There you are, you will say, these are just needs to which I have subjected him, dependencies to which I have brought him. This is all right: I have subjected him to being a man' (Rousseau 1981, 476). The civilized man remains imprisoned in the chains of a necessity which is bound up with a biased imagination. In this way the self-compulsion required by him seems to be natural. The price of the naturalisation of European civilisation is the isolation of the subject detached from local traditions as a stranger in his own world. At the age of about sixteen Emile's first entrance into society takes place, however even after complete socialisation there is still a distance between him and the others. His mind seems to be clear, but limited, and his view of the world partial with a distorted perspective. Emile remains 'a lovable stranger' (Rousseau 1981, 365).

THE FORMING OF THE WORLD BY TYPOGRAPHY AND PHOTOGRAPHY

Rousseau's educational theory was preceded by the work of the French encyclopedists. From the time of their attempt to integrate all appearances of the world into one uniform written context, everything in principle was describable, and the description of things became the usual way of storing, ordering and mediating knowledge about the world (Blumenberg 1981, 165-168). With this extension of literacy combined with the increasing circulation of books and the efforts of pedagogy for more and more literacy starting to bear fruit, the rate of illiterates decreased noticeably, and a potential reading public for every kind of writing came into being (Schmidt 1989, 185ff). In succession to Rousseau a strong pedagogical movement arose, above all in Germany, which was characterized by the emphasis of the value of experience (Kittler 1987, 66). Though the tendency to do without books did not imply the rejection of literacy, but comprise them as condition. The new pedagogy aimed at the transformation of written material into experience and realisation, at the forming of world on the basis of written fictions which could be described as a kind of 'text animation'. We find both a rejection of books and an unlimited confidence in the possibilities of writing. Books were considered as a 'new world where everything follows the signs of nature more than in the real world' (Bergk 1971, 32). Social conditions pervert and distort nature, therefore the natural experience cannot originate from a direct confrontation with nature, but only from the cycle of world interpretation with the help of writing. The mixture of experience and reading led to a concept of experience which corresponded to the idea of a lesson - contrary to the sensual perception. Kant derived experience from prescribed concepts and principles. He had to 'spell out their appearances as if reading them from experience'(Kant in Bolz 1988, 168).

The mixture of experience and reading reduced perception to a distanced, supranatural view: to the fixed view of the reader, who looks at the uniform printed words. This is the precondition for the invention of photography. Niépce, the inventor of photography, characterized his first photographs as the fixing of 'points of view' that were based on an automatic perspective and representation (Lemargny in Lehner/Pfäffli 1990). Photography enabled the environment to be represented in snapshots whose coherence depended on accidental details and constellations. Like Emile he disappears in a distanced zone in which he can only experience an accidental perspective of details of his environment, so the photographer disappears into a variable

protected observation post, at a distance from his environment. His perception is restricted by the conditions of the observer's position, and his view remains framed by the technical standards of the equipment.

Photography produces pictures 'from the distance', a kind of tele-vision without any direct contact to the subject. It registers and doubles everything exactly and to the last detail (Amelunxen 1989, 45). At the same time the visual information is dispersed into an expanding radius, the photographic view is emancipated from all previous and local knowledge about the objects represented (Daval 1983, 11 and 41f). The photographic picture projects everything onto one level; and the strengthened sensibility is combined with a superficiality that sticks to the concrete appearance without allowing any abstraction from the represented facts.

The independence of the photo, its missing reflection, its contingency and incoherence require the use of an additional element to provide a context, order and a relation to the subjective experience. The photo needs an inscription to activate the observer's associations. Only by a complementary and external assessment does the pictorial representations fit in with the experience. Like the natural experiences of Emile they are based on the context-producing written fiction of Rousseau, so the photograph refers to writing to find its place in the context of perception. Therefore the pictorial representation does not replace written representations, picture and writing go hand in hand and establish a framework of subjective perception that makes them dependent on premises which seem to be self-evident. Moreover modern education requires the task of maintaining as natural that which originates in a specific historical and social constellation.

KASPAR HAUSER AS ANTI-EMILE

About sixty years after Emile the story of another pupil calls attention to the coherence of modern education and perception control: in May 1828 Kaspar Hauser turned up in Nürnberg, unable to speak, with a sealed letter in his hand and seeking his place in the social order. His pedagogical background can be quickly told: probably Kaspar Hauser was imprisoned from the third year of his life for about thirteen years in a small and dark underground cellar without any human contact. He described his educator as a black unknown figure whom he could never see because he took care of him when Kaspar was asleep. During the time of his education he was busy with himself and with a pedagogical environment which was reduced to a minimum of toys (Binder in: Hörisch 1979, 25f). At the age of sixteen, when he entered society for the first time, he seemed, like Emile, to be a lovable but rather strange character.

The story of Kaspar Hauser has an unmistakable resemblance to the character of Emile. He represents a complementary negative image of Rousseau's educational theory, in that his character emphasizes exactly those points which in Rousseau's concept remain hidden implications. In the case of Emile the educator's observations and capacities to act were placed in the forefront. In the case of Kaspar, the perspective is reversed: by diverting attention from the regulating educator and directing it to the pupil himself, the constrained nature of Rousseau's education is brought to light. The case of Kaspar is not an example of the failure or the abuse of modern education, but it is its shadow because the rules of negative education have been strictly adhered to: the detachment from society, the reduced and selective perception, which only allows an input filtered by the educator. And like

Emile, Kaspar experienced his imprisonment so totally that he was unaware of it. According to his own statements during his imprisonment he always felt satisfied and happy and in retrospect he regarded his educator as a benefactor and deliverer (Hauser in Hörisch 1979, 88f).

The contemporary public also regarded the action of the unknown pedagogue as positive. Eschenmayer for instance, emphasized that he 'neither tormented him nor denied him anything which he would have asked for'. He took care of the 'favourable fate' of Hauser in so far that he kept him from all bad influences and nasty tendencies of human nature. Feuerbach pointed out that the educator made Kaspar into a 'real human being' (Feuerbach in Hörisch 1979, 140, 199). The only offense which was concealed by the educational process was the 'cheat out of his inheritance', that is the possible advantages of a noble family background. But the absence of home and background corresponded to the preconditions of modern education as Rousseau outlined by the example of Emile: 'Emile is an orphan. He needs neither father nor mother. I take all responsibilities and rights' (Rousseau 1981, 27).

The reference to pedagogical perception control which follows general principles made Kaspar Hauser independent of local traditions and restrictions; therefore he became the 'Child of Europe' to whom, in the tradition of Rousseau's thinking, natural growth is promised. Gutzkow described him as 'a primitive man without prejudices' and as 'an example of Humanity' (Gutzkow in Struve 1992, 86f). Hauser characterized himself as a modern European because he corresponded to the restriction of his sphere of life without any problems. Distraction first occurred when he entered society. His lifestyle, constructed from unknown pedagogical rules, manifested itself by radical peculiarities and disintegration. Like Emile he seemed to have an unusually limited mind, which in order to acquire its orientation to society needed a context founded on written references. Even at the appearance in Nürnberg, he had a letter in his hand which was not written by him or to him, but contained information about him which was passed from pedagogue to pedagogue. Therefore he became a prototype of negative individuality, characterized by Foucault as a mark of modern disciplined societies (Foucault 1976, 247ff). He became a described subject in which all qualities are transformed into derivations of a particular form of postulated normal evolution.

Thus the special quality of Kaspar is not his nature; he is accepted as a completely normal man with ordinary abilities (von Tucher in Hörisch 1979, 66). His special quality is only a result of his pedagogical biography, of the limitations and perspective distortions of the educational process and of the fact that Kaspar followed the pedagogical instructions only externally and superficially, without integrating them to subjectivity or making the effort of permanent self-improvement. Kaspar's evolutionary stagnation, his regression to a duplication of pedagogical instructions, questions the premises of modern educational theory. At all levels Kaspar only assimilated pedagogical instructions and social rules. Words being told, he repeated; activities he was shown, he imitated without contradiction and without understanding their implications. The limitation of his life and the exclusion of his own possibilities to intervene in the constellation of his pedagogical zone led to a purely empirical, increased ability to perceive. Medical reports confirmed that he had an extraordinary perceptual sensibility, but he did not have the ability to abstract and differentiate. He simply projected all impressions to one level, mixed up objects near and far, as well as

nature and art, living things with dead things (Feuerbach in Hörisch 1979, 159). Kaspar's perception corresponded to a photographic vision which projects depth onto one surface. The pedagogical perception control reduced his perception as did the camera to a photographic view: only a distanced, superficial sensuality remained for him which on the one hand was characterized by partiality and on the other by sense of detail and exact representation. He retained a specialized way of existing because his abilities could only be unfolded within the framework of the social rules and the historical constellations of modern European societies.

The example of Kaspar Hauser demonstrates that the premises of modern education lead to a problematic relationship to reality. The postulated naturalness and generality of the educational implications depend on specific premises of social normality. Only on this base, general conditions of successful educational processes can be outlined. With the help of perception control, education achieves the training of limited subjects who are prepared for a defined sphere of life. Educated in this way, one can experience the social environment only in incomplete and distanced details. To build up a context of the experienced reality one depends on one's own imaginations and thoughts to double the fictional representations of world relationships which are already effected by education. On the occasion, modern subjects make use of the operations of construction and synthesis of writing which achieve the connection of the partial impressions of reality. So the perception of reality is combined with a reducing control and a context-founding fiction by which the general conditions of one's own limitation of perception as well as the conditions of the fictitious contexts remain extensively unconscious and unnoticed.

Today the basic assumptions of Rousseau's educational theory cannot be adhered to any more: neither the postulated naturalness of man nor the clearly recognizable and objective reality or the self-evident existence of motivation for learning. Meanwhile the conditions of pedagogical arrangements have become variable and pluralistic. Nevertheless we are still not free from drawing up conditions of particular pedagogical situations and therefore restricting the pedagogical field with the help of perception control. Although I question the premises of modern education I do not reject the practices of perception control in favour of any new generality or naturalness. However I do want to promote some degree of reflection in relation to our own conditions which are reflected in the most general ideas of education. Even if we are aware of our limitations we cannot find a way out of them. But perhaps we can achieve a new relationship to that which is different from the so-called European civilisation without generalizing or subsuming them under our own categories.

In the context of a complex, international and socially differentiated society there is no nature, no self-evident local tradition or undoubted social reality which can determine the pedagogical situation any more. Therefore we have to refer to socially and historically determined constructions and to more or less arbitrary and subjective fictions and we have to learn the use of the strategies of perception control.

STEPHAN STING

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Part II. Issues of the Modernization Process

The Dutch Presentation.

Modernity, family and childhood in the Netherlands

First of all, we want to make it clear from the start that we are not very happy with the term 'education', because of its restricted meaning in the English language, where it applies particularly to schools and the educational system. We actually do prefer 'pedagogy', encompassing not only education in schools, but also in the family and the peer group. In the Netherlands, what we study is called 'pedagogiek' or 'opvoedkunde', which is more or less the equivalent of the German 'Pädagogik' and the Italian 'pedagogia'. But of course, we are aware of the fact that in every country it has a slightly different content and meaning. Nevertheless, we will stick to 'education' as the more common concept.

Then again, what is meant by 'modernity'? This concept, as well as the concept of 'modernization' has been en vogue in the social sciences for at least twenty years. We propose to illuminate 'modernization' by using a scheme as used in a recent Dutch study. This will enable us to apply different aspects of modernization to Dutch developments.

Modernization, then, refers to a complex of interrelated structural, cultural, psychical and physical changes which have crystallized in the past centuries. The world in which we live now is definitely 'modern', it has been shaped in specific ways and the whole process of modernization, heading more or less in a specific direction, has in no way come to an end (Van der Loo 1990, 11).

To describe and analyze the different phenomena of modernization we use a scheme (Van der Loo 1990, 40). We shall explore this scheme and then try to get grip on some of the paradoxes involved.

(1) From the structural point of view, a social reality is existing in which people fulfil societal roles and in which they are involved with other people. One can see certain patterns in these interactions. The more people get involved with each other (e.g. in trade relations, or in an industrializing society), the more differentiated the pattern of relationships turns out to be.

Seen from this perspective, modernization is the equivalent of differentiation. A relatively simple and homogeneous society is gradually evolving into a very complex whole, in which all the different parts are becoming small worlds on their own. On the one hand, this diversifying process can be described as 'scale reducing'. But paradoxically, this differentiation also leads to integration on a higher level, 'scale enlargement'. Small, specialized groups simply need others to foresee in all they need but cannot provide for themselves. In this way, people are forced to cooperate more closely, with more different people than beforehand. This makes coordination and central administration inevitable.

(2) Our world however, is not only a world of social structures, but it is also a cultural reality: ideas, notions, symbols, rules and values and meanings which give direction to our way of acting. Our acting and interacting are closely geared to systems of meaning of our culture. So, from the vantage point of culture, modernization can be seen as a process of rationalization. We mean by rationalization the regulation and systematization

of the world (Entzauberung, if you wish) so that the world becomes predictable and controllable.

The paradox of rationalization has a lot to do with differentiation. Differentiation has created all kinds of social units in order to fulfil tasks in the most effective way. Each of these units has its own rules and values. This development is called pluralization. This can be quite tricky: too much plurality can make people lose their grip on the world as a whole

structure	culture
scalereducing	pluralization
differentiation	rationalization
scale-enlargement	generalising
independency	deconditionalization
individualization	domestication
dependency	conditionalization
person	nature

Figure 1.

The flipside of the coin of pluralization is generalization. The intermingling of all kinds of different cultures can result in an overarching 'general' culture, which threatens the individual composing parts.
(3) The third perspective is the individual person. Although our acting is largely determined by structures and meaningsystems, there remains a psychological uniqueness of each individual. This feeling of the self as different from all other selves is closely connected with the whole of the modernization process. As a rule, this is labelled 'individualization'.

The paradox of individualization has also a connection with the already discussed paradoxes. The modern individual is interacting with many people. Just because of the multitude of all his connections, he is not especially bound to anyone in particular and so feels himself free and independent. But this relative freedom is paradoxical: the modern individual cannot survive were he really free and independent. To this is added another phenomenon: when all options are open, it can be extremely hard to make a choice, and this is particularly true with regard to something called: 'identity'. The modern person is constantly struggling to find his or her own 'true self', 'identity'.
(4) Last but not least: nature. Although modern people rarely are aware of their natural and biological dependency, it almost goes without saying that nature itself is an essential dimension. Humanity has made enormous progress in controlling the forces of nature. However, the more one controls the more one becomes dependent on the means of control. We no longer have to suffer from cold in wintertime, but a whole industry of oil is necessary to provide us with fuel. So on the one hand we see a process of physical deconditionizing and on the other hand we see a process of ongoing social and psychical conditionizing. So the

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last paradox is, that an increase of control inevitably leads to increasing dependency.

The question is: what has this all to do with education? We will try to answer this question, but first we will try to explain what the study 'pedagogiek' in the Netherlands, and especially in Amsterdam, is focusing on. There is a strong emphasis on historical processes. Before the Second World War, the systematical study of the history of education was the history of ideas. There was hardly a connection with the more mundane side of things, e.g. what actually happened in schools, in families, in the peer group. It was not until the sixties that this traditional approach was left, and then mainly under the influence of the pioneering work *Centuries of Childhood* by Philippe Ariès. The questions gradually changed from what people thought about educating children to what they did with children. Economical, social, and demographical factors proved to be very important. The upbringing of children takes place in schools, but also at work, in the family, in child protection institutions, youth movements etc. The research agenda was filled with all kinds of new questions on the upbringing of children. Our faculty, Educational Science, is concentrating on two different perspectives. On the one hand, we are interested in what takes place in schools, how they are organized, how the curriculum is enforced etc. On the other hand, the focus is upon research connected with the raising of the so called 'normal child', and how it goes about growing up in all different kind of settings, at home, at school and in the whole of the social world in which it is living. There is an emphasis on interdisciplinary approaches to these problems, as can be seen from figure 2.

After this introduction in modernization and education, we would like to tell you more about how family life in the Netherlands developed, especially during the last century. How did the process of modernization affect families and child rearing practices?

	Education	Education at school	Professional care situation
Community level		Social and policy factors	
Organisation level - supporting	Support	Care/Support	Support
- executing	Family	School	Family replacing institution
Interaction/ intervention level	Educator Child	Teacher Pupil	Professional care taker Child/Client

Figure 2.

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FAMILY LIFE IN THE NETHERLANDS FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE 20TH CENTURY

For a long time historians held the view that in Western Europe the 'extended family' was the most common form of family life before the Industrial Revolution. The last ten or twenty years this view has been severely criticized. No longer is the extended family regarded as the rule, on the contrary. In many parts of North-western Europe, including the Netherlands, the 'nuclear family' was the most common form of family life since at least the 15th century, although of course there were national and regional differences.

In pre-industrial times, the family fulfilled in general more productive and economic functions than nowadays. In rural families men, women and children worked together and formed a unit of production.

With the onset of the industrialization and the rise of the working class, this pattern was changing rapidly. Women and children were doing their jobs in the factories, but as standards of living were rising, more and more women retreated from the process of labour (outdoors). Roles were rather strictly divided between men and women, with the men as the sole breadwinner in the household. At least, that was the ideal one was striving for. In all of Western-Europe, laws made child labour illegal and children from the age of six on went to school. This was already common in most bourgeois families.

As the productive function of the family diminished, the affective bonds between the family members became more important. Women stayed at home and kept themselves busy with caring for their husbands and children. The romantic love between the partners began to play a more important role, while economic reasons to marry became less important. In the lower classes as well as in the upper class the ideal of a emotionally satisfying marriage and family life penetrated later then in the middle class.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE IN THE NETHERLANDS IN THE 20TH CENTURY

The 'modern' nuclear family (two generation household, with one or two children) can be characterized by two at first sight conflicting trends, viz. individualization and emotionalization. How can someone be a more independent individual and at the same time rely more upon emotional relationships with other people? On closer examination it turns out to be the case that this increasing dependence on emotions is part and parcel of the very process of individualization itself.

As the 'modern' family isolated itself more and more from the outside world and from the company of neighbours and kin, relationships within the family grew more important. The relationship between the partners was increasingly based on personal choice and less on economic reasons. This made stable relationships harder to realise, because feelings are less reliable than economic facts.

Along with the increased individualization and freedom of choice came a larger variety in forms of living together. This occurred at the same time that the average number of children in a family decreased, indicating that people were more and more conscious of the possibility of a choice: do we want children, and do we want them now? Moreover, an increase in the number of unmarried couples was very remarkable, as well as an increase of the divorce rate. In spite of these different forms of living together - or of splitting up - the 'modern' nuclear family still is the norm

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and ideal in the Netherlands and in many other European countries.

Another important aspect of the 'modern' family in Western Europe is the process of psychologization. With this notion we mean the fact that people are paying more and more attention to individual feelings and needs. In the rearing of their children parents more then ever reckon with these needs, and when anything goes wrong the parents - especially the mother - are held responsible. In the balance of power, children have obtained a stronger position vis a vis their parents. On the other hand, children tend to stay in their parents homes for longer than ever: sometimes until their mid-twenties, which makes them at the same time more dependent on their parents.

THE 'MODERN' FAMILY AND THE SHARING OF THE RESPONSIBILITY

A lot has changed in the Netherlands these last thirty years. Since the sixties a lot of people are striving after more equality, not only between men and women, but also between parents and children. There is a more equal division of duties between the sexes, the participation of women in the labour market has enlarged, child-care services are extended, there is a tendency to share the responsibility for child rearing with others and the number of people living outside a nuclear family is still increasing.

More than ever before, traditional values and dominant ideals are being questioned. The ideal of the nuclear family as the cornerstone of the society seems to crumble down, although for the time being it seems unlikely it will ever disappear.

All these changes have had their consequences for the raising and development of children, both positive and negative. Children as well as adults are less restricted by established values and have more choices in the way they organize their lives. But, this can result in more uncertainty, a feeling of insecurity. Children can have more problems in forming their own identity and parents have to find their own style of raising children.

As a rule, parents - and not for instance schoolteachers or probation officers - were primarily responsible for the raising of their children. Lately this idea is changing. There is a private, as well as a common, public responsibility for children. Due to these developments the government and social support services in the Netherlands show a growing interest in supporting parents with young children in child rearing. The basic idea behind this is that by intervening at a young age, perhaps worse can be prevented later on in life. This means a shift of emphasis from curation and residential child-care to prevention and community based services. Helping parents can make them more competent. What is needed, if we really want to support parents in the raising of their children, is an adjustment of the policies of the Dutch government to the needs of 'modern' families. That is to say, to the various ways upon which people shape their relationships and family life. Seeing the nuclear family as the norm is no longer realistic.

A lot of people feel that the government has to take more responsibility for family life, for example by providing sufficient and good quality day-care centres for children.

CAROLINE HETTERSCHIJT
ILONKA SINKELDAM
ASTRID VALKENBURG

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History of child day care

Ever since the 18th century educators, psychologists and social reformers have been dreaming of creating a better society by bringing up young children outside the home. But there is a dilemma in the debates on child-care. On the one hand, politicians, educators and psychologists have welcomed the idea of early intervention in child-care to prevent physical and mental disturbances in the development of the child. On the other hand, the feminist call for day care provisions for children of working mothers has enjoyed very little support from politicians and experts. Feminists stood for women's interests, and psychologists and educators for the children's interests, as if the two were totally opposed.

In the early 19th century, infant schools were seen as a way to prevent criminality and 'immorality' in the lower social classes. In 1827 the first infant-school was founded in Holland, especially meant for them. In those days there were no educational methods for working with young children in groups. There were theories about education, formulated by Comenius, Locke and Rousseau. These ideas were based on the assumption that the goodness in the child could develop through the people who rear it. But these ideas were difficult to realise for infant schools because of lack of space and money.

In 1860 Elise van Calcar introduced Fröbels development theories in the Netherlands. He had designed a curriculum based on the 'natural' development of the child. Fröbel's 'Kindergarten' was seen as an instrument to elevate mankind, especially the middle and upper classes, and to prevent criminality in the lower classes and among ethnic minorities. The Kindergarten teacher had to model herself after Fröbels idealized image of the mother who should be totally paradoxically, the idealized Kindergarten teacher became the model for the good mother. In the second half of the 19th century there are kindergartens everywhere.

In the early 20th century people grew interested in empirical child studies. American psychologists and educators discovered the nursery school as a 'laboratory of human relations'. In the nursery schools children were available for scientific observation and for experiments with 'scientific' education, and their mothers for education by the experts. Science promised better educated human beings. Many groups of children were being studied and theories about what is 'normal' and 'not normal' arose. People who rear children should follow the 'natural development' of children. Scientific theories and research were supposed to supply the guidelines.

Theories of emotional development were central in research and debates on day care. Since the 18th century educators and psychologists have argued that the most important thing is a strong mother-child attachment and motherly love (for instance Bowlby) to inculcate sound morals. It was hypothesized that separation from the mother and maternal insensitivity caused criminality and mental disturbances. Thus, it was argued, the domain of labour was for the father and the domain of the home for the mother. In the proposed regulation of emotional and moral life, the mother should act as the secure base for the child to explore the 'strange' and 'dangerous' outside world. In order for the child to feel safe, the mother has to neglect her own needs.

Even nowadays, this idea of the absolutely devoted mother still holds its sway. This partly explains why day care centres in the Netherlands are met with opposition.

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THE GOOD-BAD DISCUSSION

Now we will go into some detail concerning recent debates on the situation in the Netherlands, where a vigorous debate pro and contra can be found in newspapers and on television. Its focus is the situation of the very young children, from six weeks up till two years of age.

A very important issue is women's emancipation. If women want to work, they need some institution to take care of their children during the daytime. But some people call these mothers self-centred, as if the interest of the mother is totally opposed to the best interests of the child. In line with earlier notions on the importance of a strong bond between mothers and children, the unconditional presence of the mother is being seen as the only right way to raise a child. In a day care centre the child is among other kids and strangers are in charge, while the mother is working.

It all started with an article in the Volkskrant, an influential Dutch daily, December 21 1992. Two psychologists disagreed vehemently with each other. According to one of them, children in day care centres are victims of our modern, self-centred society. Parents are choosing only for themselves, without bothering about the needs of their children. Every child has a right to the unconditional love of her parents. The girls in charge of the day care centres can only offer the child 'paid' love instead of unconditional motherly love.

Her opponent, on the other hand, stresses the positive side. Staying in a day care centre, amidst toys and other children, away from the isolated home, can be quite an enrichment for the child. And while the child is not at home during the day, it is in its own environment during the evenings and in the weekend. But then the opponents react: 'But what if children spend more time at the day care centre than at home. What is then the meaning of having a home?'

After this provocative debate a lot of reactions follow. One of the most heated arguments is captioned: 'Trade in child's - meat'. The writer complains about the - what she describes as - locking in of children in bureaucratic institutions. She thinks that the government is supporting child-care only because it needs more people to work. Far from being for the welfare of the kids or even their mothers, it is in the interest of the labour market.

Less heated and perhaps more to the point is the letter by a mother writing about her experience with child-care. Her eight months old son is staying during the day at a day care centre, and she complains about the turnover of the girls who take care of the children, and about the fact that there is not much continuity.

In an article by an childpsychiatrist it is stated that there is no proof that raising your children at home is better than raising them at a day care centre. It is more important to look at the individual situation of the child and the parents. They vary a lot in their opportunities and their needs.

The last article we found was in the newspaper of February 9. This writer, a man, argues: one should not discuss about whether it is good or bad for children in a day care centre, but discuss what is the best child-care? He thinks that it is important that the child can attach to the girls in charge of the day care centres. The education at the day care centre can be a replacement of the education at home. But in final analysis, it is for the parents to decide.

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A MORE INDIVIDUAL APPROACH

In the good-bad discussion, people forget the individual situation of child and parents. Nowadays, a lot of children are spending their days in a day care centre. It is no use to discuss about whether it is good or bad. It makes more sense to look at the individual character and behaviour of the child and the parents. Maybe then you can say: for some kids it is good and for some it is not. In Holland we got some governmental guidelines for good child-care. The control is not that good, but we are making a start with it. That we are just starting is also shown by the number of places in the child-care. The demand is much larger than the offer. This while the government is stimulating equality of opportunity for women and man.

We think that good child-care is one very important condition for emancipation. But of course it is not the only condition, other conditions can be a longer parental leave, a larger offer of part-time jobs etc.

AN INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON

At the end of our presentation we want to make an international comparison, based on the investigation 'Child-care in the European communities'. This is an investigation of the child-care in Europe between 1985-1990. Holland is not doing very well, e.g. we have the lowest amount of mothers with children under 10 years of age working fulltime. The table shows us that, but it also shows us the large percentage of mothers working part-time compared to the other countries and a large percentage part time working fathers.

An explanation for this could be that in Holland it is not necessary for husband and wife to work both. One salary is sufficient to support the whole family. Of course this is not the only explanation. We are far behind in the number of places in child-care. Like I said before the demand exceeds the offer. But it is gradually becoming an important issue for the government, so maybe it is only a matter of time.

ILSE GODTSCHALK
MECHEL MANGELMANS

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The Garden-city as educational climate.

Children as co-designers of their own education

INTRODUCTION

The linking factor of this intensive course is 'Education and Modernization: the European experience.' I will try to illustrate how my study of the educational climate in the garden cities is part of a similar European experiment which was the brainchild of the English stenographer Ebenezer Howard. I would like to begin my story with a quote from the book 'Memories of my childhood', written by the Amsterdam educationalist Jan Ligthart, who lived from 1859 to 1916 and is highly renowned in the Netherlands. This quote gives an impression of the importance he attached to the way children perceive their environment.

'Each family in its own house with its own garden. Plenty of space, light, air and green everywhere. Space for the children where they can play with hoops and fly kites to their heart's content. And space behind their homes, too, where they can enjoy themselves in peace' (Ligthart 1914, 252).

Through the years, many studies have been conducted in the broad field of youth research. Such studies were focused on the effect the environment has on the development of children. Educational theory as practised at the University of Amsterdam is characterized by a sociohistorical approach to educational and developmental processes. This kind of theory proceeds from the assumption that educational concepts and initiatives should be seen in the light of and as a reaction to large-scale social tendencies which, in turn, help form the educational situation and developmental opportunities for children.

With the above-mentioned assumption in mind, a study was started with the working title 'Children as co-designers of their own education'. The areas selected for the study are the Amsterdam garden cities Oostzaan and Watergraafsmeer. The objective of this study is to reconstruct the environment of the children who grew up in these garden cities. There were several reasons for this choice of garden cities. In addition to the convenient geographical arrangement, the aspect of 'growing up in garden cities' contains interesting elements for a historical educationalist.

The ideology upon which the construction of garden cities was based also entailed a certain way of laying out the garden city. For instance, a number of facilities were provided, with the intention of enhancing the community spirit in the garden city. I will discuss this in more detail in the second part of this contribution. Another advantage of selecting these garden cities is the fact that both were built in the same period, so that the research offers the possibility of comparison.

The research does not seek to compare children who grew up in the garden cities with children who grew up in the city (Amsterdam) itself. Rather, the garden cities in this study are the 'educational climate' in which children grew up, and will be described as such.

A last methodological advantage I would like to mention here is the fact that most of the children who grew up in these garden cities from the twenties to the forties of this century are still alive. This allows the use of the oral history method to ask them about their childhood experiences, the way in which they used their environment, and what (educational) facilities the garden cities offered.

The environment in which children from the Amsterdam garden cities Oostzaan and

Watergraafsmeer lived in the period 1922-1945, and the way in which they perceived it, will form the basic theme of this study. The choice of the year 1922 as starting point is a logical result of the choice of garden cities. Both Amsterdam garden cities were built and populated in the early twenties of this century.

The year initially chosen as final year for the study is 1945. This makes it also possible to describe the changes in the children's world due to World War II. Furthermore, the end of the war also heralded a new period, in which relations had changed in comparison with the pre-war period.

This study is limited to the group of children in their elementary school years during the period mentioned. Recent Dutch and international youth studies have mainly focused on children who had already left elementary school. Educational research, however, pays relatively little attention to children aged from 4 to 14.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

The study seeks to form a picture of the environment of children who grew up the Amsterdam garden cities. The theoretical basis used is the psychologically oriented socio-ecological approach, which proceeds from the theory that the development of the child and its behaviour can only be understood by considering the interaction between the person and his environment. In order to understand the correlation between individual and social development processes, the American Urie Bronfenbrenner formulated a theory which he called 'the ecology of the human development' (Bronfenbrenner 1979). The term 'ecology' is originally a concept used in biology and refers to the interdependence between the developing individual and the environment.

This 'mutual' character of psychological and social development processes is evident from Bronfenbrenner's description of his theory: 'The ecology of human development involves the scientific study of the progressive, mutual accommodation between an active, growing human being and the changing properties of the immediate settings in which the developing person lives as this process is affected by relations between these settings, and by the larger contexts in which the settings are embedded' (Bronfenbrenner 1979, 21).

The socio-ecological model outlines the interaction between the child and its environment throughout its development. Bronfenbrenner's model is based on the everyday world of the individual. He defines the environment as the world of direct experience perceived by the individual.

Educational science does not really have detailed, generally accepted terms for a more refined description of the environment in which children grow up and develop. To discuss this in a structured manner, Bronfenbrenner distinguishes four ecological systems: the micro-system, meso-system, exo-system and macro-systems.

Micro-systems can be recognized by specific social rules (such as activities, roles and social rules) that apply within each system. 'A micro-system is a pattern of activities, roles and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given setting with particular physical and material characteristics' (Bronfenbrenner 1979, 22).

Meso-systems concern the relations between micro-systems. 'A meso-system comprises the interrelations among two or more settings in which the developing person actively participates' (Bronfenbrenner 1979, 25). (Such as for a child, the relations among home, school and neighbourhood peer group, etc.)

An exo-system refers to 'one or more settings that do not involve the developing person as an active participant, but in which events occur that affect, or are affected by, what happens in the setting containing the developing person' (Bronfenbrenner 1979, 25).

Macro-systems pertain to the cultures colouring all the different systems. 'The macro-system refers to consistencies in the form and content of lower-order systems (micro, meso) that exist, or could exist, at the level of the subculture or the culture as a whole, along with any belief systems or ideology underlying such consistencies' (Bronfenbrenner 1979, 26).

It follows, then, that the child is not only the passive recipient of signals from its environment, but is also an active agent in these reciprocal interactions. In other words, the child itself helps shaping its education and development. As a result, each child's world is different, although these different worlds will also be similar in many respects.

These theoretical considerations ultimately resulted in the following research questions:
- In what way did the children growing up in the Amsterdam garden cities Oostzaan and Watergraafsmeer in the period 1922-1945 shape their own education in relation to their environment?
- Which educational initiatives were carried out in the Amsterdam garden cities Oostzaan and Watergraafsmeer? To what extent did the children use these? And on what ideas were these initiatives based?
- Were the ultimate implementations of the (educational) initiatives consonant with the originally formulated and/or expressed intentions? How did the children perceive these initiatives; what meaning did they assign to them, and how did they help shape these initiatives?
- In what way did the children participate in the garden cities?

STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH

An complete reconstruction of the world of the children from the garden cities requires an inventory of all facilities, activities and the infrastructure of both garden cities.

The first step was the development of a general questionnaire, which was sent to the respondents. The second step in this study will consist of a number of interviews in which aspects of the questions will be discussed in more detail. These interviews will be held in the course of this year. The final phase of the study will entail writing the dissertation, in which a definitive answer to the questions will be formulated.

PROGRESS OF THE STUDY

The phenomenon of garden cities has been the subject of a large amount of literature both in Europe and America. I listed the literature available and used these data to describe the history and philosophy of garden cities. One of the main sources of information for this study, however, is the group of people who grew up in these garden cities.

To obtain answers to the questions I formulated, it was necessary to contact people who grew up in Garden City Oostzaan and Garden City Watergraafsmeer.

The crux was, of course, whether the people would be willing to participate in the study. Only then a reconstruction could be made.

Recruiting Respondents

Respondents for this study were recruited through various channels. My first contact with the respondents was established at a reunion of former inhabitants of Garden City Oostzaan. At this reunion, I had the opportunity to recruit the first respondents. I also contacted a local newspaper reporter and

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asked him whether he would be prepared to give publicity to my endeavour.

The resulting article included an appeal for respondents, and produced a domino effect. I was contacted by various newspapers and by the radio. They paid attention to my research and asked people who had grown up in my Garden Cities to react. I started by sending them a questionnaire.

The Questionnaires

The questionnaires sent to the respondents were meant to yield information about the historical situation in the two Garden Cities. In early 1992 the respondents were sent two questionnaires with 'open questions', which had been formulated especially for the study.

A total of 453 questionnaires were sent, 208 of which to Garden City Oostzaan and 245 to Garden City Watergraafsmeer. The questionnaires included questions on when the respondents were born, how long they lived in the garden city, their parents' political preference, their parents' religious denomination, which school they attended, what clubs they had been members of, and their leisure activities.

The objective was to obtain an accurate picture of both garden cities. Many of the answers could be compared with data from the Register of Deaths, Births and Marriages in order to check whether and to what extent our group of respondents was a representative group.

Processing the Data

The information I collected with the questionnaires was of considerable volume and diversity. The criterion for arranging the answers to the questions on leisure time was: activity (considering Bronfenbrenner's socio-ecological approach). On this basis, a division into the following dimensions was made: *type of activity*, that is the content of the activity as described by the respondent. For example, going out shopping, working at home, attending Sunday school, playing football, etc.

A second element was: *participation*. Under what circumstances did the activity mentioned take place? What was the social context in which the activity took place? For example, was it together with other family members, or with peers, etc. In this way, the type of activity was combined with the social context in which the activity took place.

The third dimension was: *the qualifying perspective*. From whose perspective was the activity described? The word 'qualifying' here refers to the manner in which the activity occurred and in what context it was given shape. For instance, did the activity take place in an unstructured setting, without any supervision of the children's activity (e.g. playing in the street) or was the setting in which the activity occurred specifically structured for the purpose and was the activity supervised by adults (playground associations).

Each answer or partial answer invariably consists of these three components. This clustering allows the analysis and description of certain patterns. I will not elaborate on the theoretical backgrounds, because that would make the contribution rather tedious.

GARDEN CITIES

The idea of garden cities was conceived by an English stenographer, Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928). Economic growth at the end of the nineteenth century led to a boom in the growth of cities both in England and in the rest of Western Europe. This growth soon confronted the cities with the problem of insufficient housing opportunities. People living in the country moved to the cities to fill jobs in factories, while the country had to cope with the consequences of the

agricultural crisis. They often came to live in the more run-down neighbourhoods of the cities. This period was characterized not only by expansion of the cities, but also by a change of society as a whole. Society was industrializing. Changes occurred in the values and standards from which people derived a sense of certainty (Hughes 1979).

In addition, there was a rapidly growing development in the area of communication. Railways, newspapers and the telegraph contributed to the further professionalization of communication.

Elements that formed the basis of a new attitude towards the phenomenon of cities include the capitalist mode of production, migration from the city to the country and increased communication. Scientists, charitable institutions, researchers and governments have studied the living conditions of the poorest groups in the cities.

Howard's book was published for the first time in 1898 under the title 'To-Morrow, a peaceful path to real reform' (Howard 1898). In 1902, his book appeared under the title 'Garden cities of to-morrow' (Howard 1945), in which he proposed the construction of building planned cities in the countryside. These so-called garden cities were supposed to unite the positive elements of cities, towns and the country. 'Town and country must be married, and out of this joyous union will spring a new hope, a new life, a new civilisation' (Howard 1945, 84). Considering the problems facing the city of London, Howard's plan met with considerable enthusiasm. It would not be entirely correct however, to attribute the ideas of the garden city to Howard alone.

As early as 1896, that is, two years before the publication of Howard's first book, a book written by the German Theodor Fritsch entitled, 'Die neue Gemeinde. Die Stadt der Zukunft', had been published (Fritsch 1903). He, too, suggested building garden cities as the solution to the problem facing the big cities. He considered life in big cities unhealthy and immoral. The large cities had no soul. Life in the country, on the other hand, was much healthier and much more attractive. The works of Howard and Fritsch are similar in many ways, although, because of their more radical ramifications, Fritsch' ideas were not so well received as Howard's (Klerk 1980, 154-212). Howard's book and ideas led to the implementation of two experiments in England. The products of these experiments, the two cities Letchworth and Welwyn, have had a tremendous impact on the practical development of cities worldwide. The idea of garden cities was not only adopted in England, but Howard's ideas were also taken over in France, Belgium, Germany, the USA and the Netherlands. Each country had its own particular variation on Howard's plans.

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE DUTCH SITUATION

In the Netherlands, the garden city idea was propagated by the architect Daniel de Clercq and the secretary for the Society of Public Welfare ('t Nut) Bruinwold Riedel (Bruinwold 1906). The first plan for a garden city in the Netherlands came from Berlage and dates from 1909. This plan was directly derived from Howard's plans. However, these plans were never implemented because of World War I (Fockema Andreae 1963, 99). Since there were no such large cities as London, Paris and Berlin in the Netherlands, the need to actually build garden cities as designed by Howard was not so pressing. The first garden city in the Netherlands ('t Lansink in Hengelo) dates from 1911. It was not until the twenties of this century that more garden cities based on Howard's ideas were built (Feenstra 1920, 259).

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The garden cities of Oostzaan en Watergraafsmeer

In these years, the local council of Amsterdam was dominated by a majority of social-democrats who advocated the construction of garden cities. The four garden cities built in Amsterdam in this period consist partly of Howard's ideas and the social-democratic views in those years: aiming at inexpensive houses, on the one hand, and cultural elevation of the worker and his children, on the other. The social democrats feared boredom and apathy. They felt that leisure time should be used to liberate the working class.

In line with this view was the promotion of club life, the practice of sports, nature education and youth organizations. A number of facilities in the garden cities can be recognized by their educational value.

For example, complete public libraries were built for relatively small neighbourhoods. Besides public libraries, club buildings were constructed in the centres of such garden cities. In addition, playgrounds were made to keep children off the streets and to help them discover the pleasure of playing, as it were. At the same time, sports fields were laid out at the edges of the towns, providing sufficient sports facilities. Completely in line with the social-democratic policy, churches and pubs were not allowed in the towns. Alcohol was only felt to have an addictive, not a constructive effect. Churches were also superfluous from a socialist point of view. Not surprisingly, the first people to move to those garden cities were social-democratic pioneers who, with the ideology previously mentioned, intended to create an ideal workers' residential area.

Now that I have discussed the background of the garden cities, we will return to the study.

CONCLUSION

Some Preliminary Results

For clarity's sake, I reiterate once more that the purpose of this study is to reconstruct the living environment of children that have grown up in the Amsterdam garden cities. Just as a painter first makes a rough draft before accurately depicting the image, we are attempting to represent the situation of the children from that period in broad outline before filling in the details. Consequently, the analysis of the questionnaires showed a number of interesting aspects. I will mention just a few.

(1) First, there was a high response. Of the 453 questionnaires we sent, 372 were returned. This means a response rate of 82.1%, which can be called very high for this type of study.

(2) Partly thanks to the respondents' answers, literature research and intensive study of the records, we have succeeded in forming a clear picture of the social infrastructure of the garden cities.

(3) Analysis of the questionnaires showed that the pattern of political preferences, religious denominations, family composition, etc. corresponded with data from the various censuses. In other words: we have managed to reach a 'fairly representative' group of people.

(4) The analysis enabled us to gain insight into the manner in which children spent their leisure time. For instance, it allowed us to chart a number of activity patterns. To generalize, one could say that 47.5% of the 1,286 activities described occurred in an unstructured environment. These include playing in the street, in the neighbourhood, etc., without the direct involvement of adults. The remaining activities (52.5%) took place in a structured environment; an environment specially created for children by adults. For

example, sports clubs, sewing circles, musical societies, etc.

In the garden city, many activities were organized for the children with an educational aim in mind, and intensive use was made of these.

The next stage of the study aims at answering the question how the children perceived these activities and what meaning they assigned to them. One could call this the real beginning of the study. The interviews at a later stage of the study will play a major role in that regard. Not until then will it be possible to assess whether garden cities provided an ideal educational climate for children from Amsterdam and possibly for children growing up in general. At any rate, the respondents themselves indicated that they had had an ideal childhood there.

JEROEN KNIGGE

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On modernization theories

On racism and the role of education

The concept of modernization is an often ambiguous and difficult one and I will try to throw some light on it.

Modernization is generally seen as the sum total of processes of transformation that Western society, followed by the whole world, is passing through since several centuries.

Giddens (1990) identifies three dominant sources of the dynamism of modernity:

- the separation of time and space;
- the development of disembedding mechanisms;
- finally, the reflexive appropriation of knowledge.

In their study *The paradoxes of modernization* the Dutch sociologists Van der Loo and Van Reijen identify 'differentiation, rationalization, individualization en domestication' as the major components of the modernization process, like already explained supra.

The Dutch sociologist Zijderveld (1987) once said about modernization that it is an 'irritating concept'. Because of a similar experience I felt very much concerned about this and I have tried to discover why. Speaking on my own account of course, in preparing this course, I have been able to identify the following elements contributing to my 'irritation'. In doing this I owe a lot to the work of a team of some forty scholars in the social sciences who made up the 'Understanding Modern Societies Course Team' of the Open University with Stuart Hall as its chair. The Open University edited a series of four volumes written by these scholars on 'Formations of modernity' (see: Allen et al. 1992; Bocock et al. 1992; Hall et al. 1992a; Hall et al. 1992b).

I summarize my critical remarks with regard to a lot of current modernization theories, including those by Giddens and Van der Loo and Van Reyen in the following six points:

(1) There are at least as many modernization theories as there are aspects of modernization. Different disciplines all have their own modernization theory: economics, social-psychology, sociology, political sciences and cultural anthropology. The existing fragmentation of the humanities is very much present in modernization theories. Whereas Rostow (1978) only speaks about economic processes, Inkeles (1974) about socio-psychological processes, Giddens (1990) has a more philosophical approach. Neither of them might be completely wrong, but no one gives a full theoretical account of the modernization process, not only describing 'when and how it happened, but also why it happened' (Hall et al. 1992a, 8). Modernization theories often lack explanatory value.

(2) Modernization theories are often characterized by a mono-causal approach. Modern societies are organized in terms of four major processes - the political, the economical, the social and the cultural. 'No one process, on its own, provides an adequate explanation of the formation of modern societies' argues Hall in the introduction of Volume 1 of the works mentioned above (Hall 1992a, 5).

(3) One of the assumptions of modernization theories consists of a clear break, at one moment in history, between modern times and so-called pre-modern times.

It is assumed that the starting point of modernity is fixed in time. This is a contested assumption however. Recent studies concerning world history throw another light on this: world history in this vision is made up of a conjuncture of ever

shifting interrelated and mutually influencing, hierarchically ordered pattern of hegemonies (see: Frank and Gilles 1992). This has of course implications for visions about modernity formation. In the Open University volumes the starting point of each sub-process is situated at different times in history: for example state formation goes back to the Greek and Roman empires while economic transitions are mainly situated in the eighteenth century.

(4) Closely related to this is the assumption in most of the modernization theories about an inevitable progress along a single path of development, so there is not only a fixed starting point but also a pre-determined goal. It has become clear nowadays that not all societies are developing. On the contrary, a lot of them are blocked in their development because of the policies of more powerful ones. Moreover their seems to be no single path of development: whereas no less modern, a country like for example Japan follows a path which is very dissimilar compared with, say, the American one.

(5) A lot of modernization theories neglect the so-called 'dark side' of the modernization story; in short: the Holocaust, racism, the pollution of the environment, the current everyday political, economical, social and cultural oppression and repression of millions of human beings etc. It is this 'dark side' which makes Hall speak about 'the Janus face of modernity' (Hall et al. 1992a, 16).

(6) Linked mainly to the last two points is the ultimately eurocentric character of many modernization theories for which modernization essentially means westernization. This is accompanied by neglect of the fact that modernity formation has also been a global process. The rest of the world was necessary for the political, economic, social and cultural formation of the West.

Taking this into account, the following elements can be seen as the core dynamics of the modernization process:

(1) On the political level: the formation of the nation-state and the development of liberal democracies. Note that these processes laid the basis of state-organized educational systems.

(2) On the economic level: the development of the market-economy and the concomitant industrialization.

(3) On the social level: urbanization and new social and sexual divisions of labour: capital and wage labour in the sphere of production and, in the sphere of reproduction, the shifting distinctions between the public domain and the private domain of the family and the household.

(4) On the cultural level: secularization and individualization, the development of a so-called 'protestant ethic' and the awareness of the costs of modern culture, its 'dark shadow'.

The very prominent social phenomenon of racism can be seen as an element of this 'dark side of modernity' and I will now elaborate on this in relation to education. Racism can and is often seen as counter-productive to modernization processes that are geared towards further globalization. It is my conviction that education has an important role to play in the formation of the global, cosmopolitan citizen of the future. The English educationalists Troyna and Hatcher (1992) made a qualitative, ethnographical study about racist name-calling on mainly white primary schools. I like to confront you here, shortly, with some of their findings which I further elaborated and commented upon elsewhere (Van der Valk 1992).

'Race' emerges for young children as a plausible explanatory framework for incidents in their everyday lives. This study shows how significant racism is in the lives of

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white children and at the same time how frequently anti-racist attitudes exist even in the thinking of children who engage in racist behaviour. Concerning racism children's culture show a clearly contradictory dynamic. In policy terms the authors concluded that: a clear stance by schools against racism can be effective.

A policy concerning racist incidents at school has to be accompanied by an anti-racist curriculum. The curriculum has to be centred around the diversity of life experiences of the children: the family, the neighbourhood, processes of dominance and equality, friendships, relationship between girls and boys, being jealous, acting tough, television and last but not least, 'race' and racism.

Schoolpolicy should build on the positive elements of children's culture, namely the strong equality dynamic present in this culture. The anti-racist attitude of children should be reinforced (Troyna et al. 1992).

And why not then represent racism to our children as 'not-modern', a thing of the past, even when it is alive and well, may be more so than in our youth, because we want it to become a thing of the past, at least in our children's (post-modern?) future.

INEKE VAN DER VALK

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Germans and other strangers

Introduction

The euphoric feeling about the German unification was suddenly replaced by many problems. One of them is the hostility against foreigners, which has been recognized by the whole of Europe.

Germany again was confronted with its own past. Although there was hostility against foreigners before unification, nowadays it is part and parcel of everyday life. Politicians consider it a social problem - only in the east of Germany - while sociologists see it as a basic characteristic of the German people.

In our paper we try to examine different aspects more closely and show ways of dealing with the problems.

Historical Background: Development of German National Feeling

Faced by the fact that the German nation nowadays seems to be quite hostile to its foreign neighbours, we were interested in searching for the reason. One part of the research concerns the historical background of German nationality, which begins in the time of the Enlightenment, fixed on the French Revolution. This was the time when identification by religion was replaced by liberality, equality and fraternity, a kind of civil rights movement.

The German nation, if one can call it that, has represented from this time on fragmentation, not only from the point of view of its geography but also with regard to its government and in language.

In 1806, when the Roman Empire fell, Europe had to find a new order, especially with regard to the more than hundred different autonomous territories which made up the area, where german was the dominant language. At the same time the 'Holy Roman Empire of German Nations' was dissolved. Some smaller territories formed an alliance, the so-called Rhine Alliance (Rheinbund).

This alliance grew bigger in 1814/15 at the Congress of Vienna, when some other states and the Rhine Alliance together formed the so-called German League (Deutscher Bund). These alliances had a more or less military character, to protect themselves against the two superpowers Austria and Prussia. Within this alliance the idea of 'Nation of Culture' grew. Important philosophers like Kant and Hegel, or major poets like Goethe and Schiller offered an identification on a cultural level. One can compare this to Britain and France, two other European countries which had a clear national identification because of a fixed territory and languages.

In 1834 liberal political groups initiated an economic union in addition to military force. Until this time every territory had its own currency and separate taxes. These liberal groups founded an association for equality of taxes (Deutscher Zollverein).

In 1859 this was followed by the foundation of an Association for the German Nation (Deutscher Nationalverein). It had as its aim an elected parliament and a centralized government. German national feeling grew in Prussia and the territories that were under its authority, when in 1862 Bismarck, the most important politician of these times, became Minister of Education. He introduced one common German language at school which had to be taught. This was the dialect of the region around Hannover, today known as official and correct German.

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In 1866, after the victory against Austria in the Battle of Koenigsgraetz, Prussia won supremacy in the German region and in 1870 also in Europe through victory against France. These two important victories made the people feel euphoric about a common German state, which was founded in 1871 as the First German Empire. The educational system of Prussia was introduced in the whole empire, having as its function the spreading of a uniform national feeling.

The problem of identification still existed as the people of the different regions preferred to identify themselves with their own origins rather than with Prussia. A census taken in 1873, showed how authorities regarded their inhabitants. 3.7 Millions were said to be non-German, i.e. Rumanians, Danes, Slavs, Lituanians and Jews. The so-called 'enemies of the empire', e.g. socialists, social democrats and catholics were also counted. If you do not take into consideration that some people could have been counted twice, about 43% of the population was looked upon as suspicious. It is hard to fix the criteria: who was looked upon as a German and who was not. Was it some kind of political identification that determined nationality? The language? The confession? The territory one lived in?

The political system was stable until 1918 when the monarchy was abolished in Germany. During the forty-seven years of monarchy something was done to establish a common German national feeling, but it did not go very deep. The first German democracy existed from 1918 to 1933, it was very instable economically and as a political institution (the time was very bad all over the world). The democracy of Weimar did not offer any model of identification for most people. Under the monarchy the 'Kaiser' represented the federal character of the empire, but in a federal democracy with ever changing politicians there was not anything any more to stabilize the new German identity.

Hitler offered himself as such a person, and was welcome to most of the people just in having the position of an autonomous authority like the 'Kaiser' had been. To overcome the problem of German identity like we have seen in the example of 1873 census, Hitler offered one solution: race as the decisive characteristic. It is remarkable that the German people were not suspicious about the fact that this new model of identification had to be created by Hitler first. It was not anything natural. During twelve years of very strong German identity the long missing self-confidence of 1870 came back.

The end of World War II, the own history within the Holocaust, again was an important breaking point in the formation of identity. The separation of Nazi Germany into two parts divided the German nation in a completely different way: this time almost arbitrary by foreign victorious power.

German national identity developed into different ways. The German Federal Republic compensated guilt in an abstract way by giving material and financial compensation, but not dealing deeply with the problem of racism and fascism. Aware of guilt, the normal West German citizen could not be 'proud to be a German' any more.
The German Democratic Republic rejected any guilt of the Holocaust empathically and initiated anti-fascism on a governmental level, again without any deeper confrontation with its own history. The German nation was absorbed in the international proletariat.

When the Berlin wall fell in November 1989, once again one political system broke down and a new German identity had to be found. There seem to be no solutions. Neonazism, racism and the use of violence against 'enemies of the empire' are not new models of German identification.

CURRENT SITUATION

Chronological Overview

September 1991: Hoyerswerda. A small village in Sachsen-Anhalt became a symbol of hostility against foreigners, a symbol of a falling taboo in the autumn of 1991: Right-wing extremists attacked an asylum home. Thirty-two people were severely injured. Several dozen similar attacks followed. For the first time, aggression against foreigners, who have immigrated to our country and aggression against people who ask for asylum, are being endorsed by parts of the public opinion.

October 1991: In Hünxe young people threw Molotov cocktails into a Lebanese home. Two children were badly injured.

August 1992: In Rostock, several hundred young people attacked an asylum home with stones and Molotov cocktails.

November 1992: Skinheads killed three Turkish women with a Molotov cocktail in Mölln.

After these initial acts of violence, the number of attacks increased rapidly all over Germany. Mainly asylum homes became the victims of these acts of terror.

In Autumn 1991 the German political asylum debate became more and more emotionalized and polarized. The asylum debate contributed to and evoked an increase of insecurity and hostility against foreigners. A public debate flared the possibility of reducing the number of people, who are seeking asylum. It was also discussed how to speed up the procedure, and if and how to change fundamental law (Grundgesetz).

The right-wing conservative party CSU said 'the boat is full', as they geared up for election campaigns. The political opposition said 'the boat is empty'. This political quarrel, concerning the right of asylum, deteriorated the relationship between the native and the newcomer population.

The German autumn of 1991 was also the time, when opposition started to move. A wave of new solidarity and support on behalf of foreigners and refugees swept through the country.

Unions, employers, churches and other groups, including political parties, made a common declaration in order to fight the hostility against foreigners. Many initiatives were founded in order to find new ways to meet hostility and right-wing extremism. But what are the attitudes and opinions of the broader public concerning living together with foreigners in Germany? What are the problems and the tensions behind this hostility and terror?

Opinions and attitudes

The public opinion on living together with foreigners, is not as fixed as different surveys have shown. According to an Infas survey in August 1991, only about forty per cent of the German population saw a positive aspect in living together with foreigners. In October, after the shock of Hoyerswerda, sixty per cent found it positive. During the interviews there was one main concern, which was often mentioned according to Infas: almost fifty per cent of the German population was afraid that they would be culturally infiltrated by 6.8 per cent of foreigners. This fear is also shown in letters to the department of foreign affairs. In those letters, people wrote for example 'the Turks threaten us by bringing another million Turkish immigrants to Berlin, and kicking the Germans out of the city of Berlin, or we are paying for the loss of our own culture'. Essentially, the Germans expect that foreigners should assimilate to German living conditions. In earlier surveys, sixty per cent of the interviewees shared the opinion that foreigners should adapt more to the German culture and its lifestyle. A survey of the Kölner Institut für Sozialforschung und Gesellschaftspolitik also showed hostility

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against foreigners to be more widespread in the new German federal states than in the old ones. Alarming is the understanding for right-wing-extremists. According to an Emnid-survey in 1991, thirtyseven per cent of the West-Germans and thirty per cent of the East-Germans express understanding for right-wing radicalism.

Reading the results of these surveys, one should not be fascinated by the figures, but see them as tendencies and trends and not as fixed numbers.

Crisis in orientation and the increasing attitude for violent attacks

The actual situation in Germany is adding to the dramatic hostility against foreigners. With the German reunification, the German society is going through a process of deep changes. Political and economical changes have created new problems for society. For instance, people have difficulties in finding their position in the reunified Germany. Social values have disappeared, institutions, clubs and social environment are also losing their connecting functions. In the last few years political and economic changes in Eastern Europe also have led to disorientation. All these events have provoked uncertainty and a crisis in orientation of the public. The consequence is the fear of strangers and intolerance of the foreign population. This is valid for the old federal states, but even more so for the people from the former GDR. Not only has its political system collapsed, but also its economic and social system. Values, which have been adequate for forty years, have lost their meaning.

From this situation, especially young people lose their perspectives and orientation in society, a loss that is not being met by social youth work. In some cases this is leading to an increasing lenient attitude towards violence.

Wilhelm Heitmeyer, a youth researcher, conducted a survey among young people between the ages of sixteen and seventeen years, which showed about forty per cent of them believing in authority, thinking nationalistic and having an extremist attitude. In that survey the explanation for this attitude is the fear of not being able to find a place to work, not being able to compete, the loss of success and status, of not even having the possibility to be successful and reach a certain social status.

A survey of the Leipziger Jugendinstitut in the five new federal states shows sixteen per cent of the youth wanting a new strong leader, forty per cent thinking their life would be better without a foreign population in Germany. Eighty per cent of the youth have a basic feeling of fear. The young people are extremely concerned with social fears and the collapse of their patterns of orientation. Both, youth in the old federal states as well as in the new ones, have an increasing feeling of powerlessness and helplessness.

Alarming is the increasing attitude among German youth to radicalize, as one can see by the growing number of attacks of skinheads and other right-wing extremist groups on asylum homes.

ANALYSIS. RACISM IN GERMANY TODAY

After the unification of the two German states the phenomenon of racism or rather Neonazism has arisen in a massive way. Observations show that young men and women are attracted to these groups of right-wing radicals. There they find respect, which they are missing in society. The desire to be someone and to be important for the group is what counts. The group dynamics lead to aggression and sometimes murder.

Dissatisfaction with the political system and all its consequences has sometimes dangerous results. Right wing groups try to express their anger by violating human rights. Young people are acting together to assert their self-acclaimed rights concerning foreigners. They are even able to gain political influence. Some people consider this movement as a youth rebellion.
This brings us back to the question how much this has to do with some sort of 'specific german-ness'. Every human being has feelings of fear, hate, envy and inferiority to content with. So, it is less the question of nationality, but of the question how to deal with these negative feelings. The choice of the 'channel' to reduce dissatisfaction depends on the flexibility of the person in question. Everyone has the possibility to find the best way to be constructive or destructive.

Right wing radicalism is always at hand. Therefore there is no need to develop a new concept to be destructive. Instead of building something new, reactionary slogans and structures are used in trying to get political power.

This was an attempt to describe these two explanations of the motives of right wing radicalism, Neonazism or rather racism. The subject would rent enough material to write a book. Another explanation would be to analyze the role of the politicians. It is a question of changing German Constitution concerning the rights of foreigners. In some way there is a hidden legitimation for racists in politics. To reach their political aim, some politicians refuse to condemn the activities of right wing groups. As always this is a question of power and cash.

THE PHENOMENON OF NEO-NAZISM

The phenomenon on German television - implications

Television-reporting about Neo-Nazism can help to get an insight into reporting about the phenomenon of Neo-Nazism. It is generally assumed that television-reporting depends on the business cycles of the Neo-Nazi protest. When Neo-Nazis cause a stir with militant and large-scale actions, only then you can watch them on television. In this case television does not do justice to a continuous, even-handed, objective discussion about the phenomenon of Neo-Nazism. On the contrary, the television pictures are presented in a selective way: the Neo-Nazis on television have to look like Neo-Nazis, with Neo-Nazi symbols and a certain Neo-Nazi language. The television features are not anxious to look behind the front of exotic, naked, political voyeurism and sensational reporting to get an objective and differentiated background. Reminiscence of fascist aesthetics only produces fear, while in the long run the real menace to democratic society is neglected, namely the longevity of the fascist mental attitude.

German television is fairly good described in Neil Postman's book *Amusing Ourselves to Death. Public discourse in the Age of Show Business*.

Like Neil Postman says, television shows us an exchange of pictures and not an exchange of words. What is shown on television is no more than just that: television. This is quite different from other real news. Postman emphasizes that the problem is not that one can watch exciting things on television. It is problematic that every theme on television is presented like entertainment. Entertainment is the super ideology of all television. News is the framework for entertainment and not the framework for any reflection or consideration

(Postman 1988, 110). 'To think about something' is not desirable on television. Citizens become spectators and their concerns become variety shows. Neil Postman thinks that our civilization is just turning into a variety show (Postman 1988, 190).

Thinking about Neil Postman one can suppose that - because of its own kind - television is not the proper medium for reporting on Neo-Nazism. Hence it follows that television must be better controlled by the viewers. Education has to stand up for controlling. That means that young people should learn to resist the kind of information television is presenting by learning to get a differentiated view.

The phenomenon treated by adult education - an example

As an example of how the phenomenon of Neo-Nazism is treated in the context of adult education we will describe in-service training in the branch of the 'Office of Waste Organisation' in Frankfurt/Main from 1990-1992.

In 1990 the 'Office of Waste Organisation' in Frankfurt/Main commissioned an in-service training to deal with racial conflicts between German and foreign employees of the 'Office of Waste Organisation'. This training was carried through by the 'Office of National Education' together with co-workers of an adult college. First it was restricted to a certain branch, later it was extended to the whole office (Freyberg 1992).

In the two years of in-service work people should analyze the coherence between their everyday experiences of discrimination, the high rate of illness and the hostile relationship between German and foreign employees at work. In the beginning, the co-workers of the adult college tried to solve these problems with the help of the 'change of perspectives' method. However, the desired success was not achieved. After that, treating of conflicts in the branch of 'Waste Organisation' was the focus of interest: planning of vacations, achievement-policy, working hierarchy and representation of interests. At the same time the racist model, that was seen as the root of the conflict or as a possible explanation, was supposed to be restricted. In the case of in-service, the German workers revised their hostile attitudes towards their foreign colleagues, but at the end everyone felt confronted with the question whether these changes of view were limited to particular surroundings or whether they were valid outside the working place as well.

Altogether, at the end of the in-service training, it became obvious that all the negative factors, such as authoritarian structures, understaffed personnel, extreme periods of stress and many possibilities for the superiors to interfere in the working process were fertile soil for the development of hostile attitudes and behaviour of the German employees. In contrast to that, the positive factors of the working situation, such as relatively autonomous working conditions (which are not easy to control for the superiors) and collegial relationships (employees work together in teams) formed a counterweight to hostile attitudes.

Educational methods and theories

Concerning the project in Frankfurt it is questionable whether there are certain methods against Neo-Racism or not.* It is questionable too, whether a certain moral education would bring better results. For this one might consult Lawrence Kohlbergs examinations of moral development.

Many people expect schools and other educational institutions to solve the problem of Neo-Nazi hostility. These people have high expectations of schools. But they must also take into account that the hostility and

the readiness to use violence against foreigners also have social causes.

One cause has to do with the European Community. We cannot close our borders if people from other continents want to come to our continent. The idea of the European Community does not mean that Europe should be like a fortress. In Germany we need some immigration policy, taking into consideration that there are no easy solutions for the worldwide problem of migration. One solution could be a more just distribution of wealth and an improvement of the living conditions for all people.

Talking about education and Neo-Nazism in Germany cannot be done adequately without taking up the issue of 'Education after Auschwitz' as Theodor W. Adorno, one of the founders of the Frankfurt School of Sociology, once put it. 'That Auschwitz never happens again, this is the very first demand on education.' This statement is the opening sentence of Theodor W. Adorno's famous radio speech on 'Education after Auschwitz' in the year 1966. He holds this to be the more important than all other demands on education. 'To give reasons for it', he says, 'would itself be somewhat monstrous in the light of the monstrosity which has happened.' And he continues that 'all debates about educational ideals are idle and of no relevance compared to this one: that Auschwitz shall not happen again' (Adorno 1988, 88).

Adorno's conviction that Auschwitz and the threat of its repetition in the future in fact entails a supreme goal for education, is not based on personal feelings, but on his scientific views on modern society as a whole. One may ask what is the relation to modernity - Auschwitz was the darkest side of modernity. For Adorno, Auschwitz was the peak of the barbarian outbursts of violence that the dark side of modernity can produce. Auschwitz not only represents a past monstrosity, it is the catastrophe which is ever present in modernity.

Adorno does not give any methods with regard to education. His educational suggestions are aimed at helping the child to become a non-authoritarian enlightened personality who is truly capable of loving and caring.

Concerning the question of educational methods, it is fair to state that educational science has other tasks, apart from designing didactics. Concerning the theoretical side of educational science, the philosophy of the philosopher Juergen Habermas and his theory of communicative action (*Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns*), could be a starting point for new ways of 'thinking about education'. Some years ago some educationalists tried to use some aspects of critical theory for a reflection on educational theory (Kritische Pädagogik); one of them was Klaus Mollenhauer. However, this attempt was not very successful (Peukert 1983).

To take some ideas of Habermas - for a 'theoretical frame' and not for some methods - could be useful. That implies an adequate identification between educational and communicative action. One gets subjectivity by intersubjectivity. Education is an intersubjective event. Based on the theory of communicative action the relationship between persons is a relationship between subjects and not a relationship between subjects and objects. One cannot reduce this communicative relationship to an instrumental relationship. The relationships between persons in educational events are not instrumental ones. They are aimed at communicating and understanding each other. Considering that the educational relationship is not an instrumental one, categories like 'dialogue', 'talk' and 'interaction' become more relevant. Interaction is the basis of education, but not like an instrumental rela-

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tionship. Reality is understood as an inter-subjective world and action is founded in communicative practice. Concerning the phenomenon of Neo-Nazism, young people should learn to reflect upon their own situation and opinions in discussions and to speak about their fears, their insecurity and their feelings of not being understood.

Then they might gain enough self-confidence to become a non-authoritarian personality as once Theodor W. Adorno wished them to be.

MATTHIAS BLUM
ANJA KAPLYTA
MELANIE SCHMITT
ELKE WEIßER

* The term 'Neo-Racism' is used, though it is difficult to use it. It is used because it is a term in public discourse. Members of the critical theory like Adorno, Horkheimer avoided using the term because they did not want to assume the existence of races by talking about them. Racism is not only a part of an ethnocentric view. The educationalist Wilhelm Heitmeyer distinguishes between racism, ethnocentrism, hostility against foreign people, heterophoby and rights of 'established' people. Wilhelm Heitmeyer 1992, 4f.

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Part III. Aspects of Schooling and Modernization

Curriculum modernization in Sweden

In the year 1992-93 a new curriculum (SOU 1992, 94) was proposed for the Swedish educational system. This reform was intended to affect and modernize the entire compulsory school. This implies that the educational system is to be unified; for e.g., the different levels will be more closely interconnected than before, and the training of the student is a 1 - 12 year schooling. Another aim is to stress the importance of the work done in the classroom and to compare everyday knowledge to traditional academic knowledge.

This proposed curriculum reform shows also a modern and highly industrialized country articulating its needs for modernization and change in its educational policy. The main text of the proposal was however voluminous and was studied by only a few of those who would be affected by this proposal. This explains why there has not been such an extensive discussion of this proposal as could have been anticipated.

This reform of the curriculum might be a kind of copernican or quantum revolution in education. Among the important features of this proposal for modernization are the following points which are discussed below.

The Name: 'School for Cultivation'

The new curriculum is going to be named 'School for Cultivation' or in the Swedish language, 'Skola for bildning'. In an appendix to the main text the background and origin of this name is carefully documented and analyzed. In this analysis it is pointed out that the name originates from the classical concept of cultivation or as this concept is called in its German origin: 'Bildung'.

Cultivation in this context implies that when a person becomes educated in the meaning of being cultivated, this cultivation will affect his whole personality, not only his knowledge or cognitive functions. The fundamental aspect of cultivation is that education does not stand for learning facts as such. This however, leads to the conclusion that there is some sort of contradiction involved in an aim or goal for education, and training as prescribed in the curriculum, and the process which is to lead to cultivation. This inherent contradiction is not being discussed in the proposed curriculum.

In the proposed curriculum reform it is also pointed out that this presented perspective of knowledge does not imply a return to the past even if it refers to classical concepts: 'To create a school for cultivation is no antiquarian task. Such a school has never existed'.

This change of perspective on knowledge could be regarded as the first copernican quantum jump: changing the traditional task of the school, which is teaching factual knowledge into a school with a new view on learning and training of the mental faculties of the students. A school where the student himself is requested to take more responsibility for his own studies. A school where the role of the teacher is changed from one aimed at carefully directing the studies of the students to a role which is meant to inspire

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the students to learn themselves and find their own ways.

TAKING INTO REGARD A CHANGING AND INTERNATIONALIZED WORLD

One of the most important tasks for the school system is to create and give the students an education which fits the needs of society. We may, from a historical point of view, follow how the Swedish school system first tried to meet the demands from the old-time agricultural society. In the twentieth century the school system had to handle the needs of the modernizing industrial society. In the present time society is facing the demands and challenges of the changing and unpredictable 'post-industrial' society of tomorrow.

The proposed curriculum wants to meet those demands and challenges in finding forms of knowledge for a society in rapid development with an increasing amount of international contacts and high demands on the functional aspects of knowledge. As an answer to this challenge mathematics and languages are given more space in the new national curriculum. Even environmental knowledge and modern science and technology are given more space.

In the traditional school, the framework surrounding the school, as well as the schoolforms were stable over the span of time and to a certain amount even predictable. This stable and predictable worldview has however changed and the intentions in Sweden are to fit into the new national curriculum potentials for rapid changes of courses for training and education. The aim of this process is to be able to adapt the content of the curriculum to the unpredictable and unforeseeable demands of a changing world.

Thus, in the proposed curriculum there is an intention to change the perspective of learning: from traditional and established knowledge about a glorious past-time into an attempt to try to predict the future and to teach accordingly.

This does however not mean that the Swedish cultural heritage is to be sacrificed. Instead, it is pointed out that in order to understand the present and predict the future, one has to study history in order to reflect on the present and learn from the past.

Another aim, in contrast to the traditional way of regarding science, is to illuminate the historical context in which a specific item of scientific or technological knowledge was developed. It is regarded important not only to utilize the present status of science and technology. As there is such a rapid flow of innovations in this field, knowledge about the innovative process itself is valuable. At the same time the students should be prepared for tasks in a high-technological society where scientific knowledge leads to technological applications which are competitive on the world market. However, this should not lead to contradictions as knowledge about the past is regarded as a valid instrument for predicting of the future.

These remarks could be summed up as the content of a second copernican quantum leap: changing the dimension from national to international realms. Changing the time dimension from a study of the past into a tentative and creative interaction with an unknown future.

ORGANIZATION AND DIRECTION

Changing the organization and direction within the school system from direction via rules and grants into a system which is coordinated via aims and results is one of the main features of the proposed curriculum.

In the field of administration in Sweden, the last decade was characterized by a reorganization in order to achieve decentralization. For the school system in particular, this meant a shift of responsibility in a way that the central governing unit was given the responsibility to create the curriculum for the school system. The local officials on the other hand were given the responsibility for implementation of that curriculum. In earlier times it was possible for the central government agency to direct the activity in the school system via rules and regulations by means of money grants. Political decisions taken by experts at the national level had thus an important impact on the work which was done in local schools.

The decentralization of the system to goal- and result directing has changed this. In the future, Sweden will thus have a centrally developed curriculum which in a general way, together with plans for time allocation and course content recommendations, will render a foundation for the work in local schools. This will give the students an education which is of the same quality throughout the whole country. This does not mean, however, that the same subjects are studied in the same way in all schools in the country. Instead, it is meant that different schools should try to develop own and original 'profiles' in order to compete for students. This change is debated quite a lot and this proposal is questioned as it might result in some schools becoming popular while other schools will become depopulated. One problem for the schools in this context is that the students 'carry' with them the funding for their education in such a way that every school is getting money related to the amount of students in that particular school.

The goals of education for the students will be of two different kinds. First, there are instituted goals of attainment. These will just indicate the direction of the studies and what the school system wants to achieve in an overarching perspective. There is no maximum level for attainment of these goals and their fulfilment is not to be tested. Secondly, there are instituted goals of fulfilment. These goals will be formulated in such a way that their fulfilment by the students may be tested and evaluated. There will be one national testing after five years in primary school and another after nine years of studies, at the end of secondary school. The third national testing will be at the end of compulsory school, in the gymnasium,that is after 12 years of studying. If the students do not perform at a satisfactory level at these tests, the school will get grants for improving the teaching. In this context, the grading of the students has not yet got a satisfactory solution. A proposal is made to change from a relative to an absolute scale for grading the students but no concrete proposals are made so far.

Evaluation has also been rendered a new function in the proposed curriculum. As a rule, the process of evaluation was interpreted as a way of controlling and testing what the student had achieved as a result of his studies. In the proposed curriculum there is an intention to widen this concept of evaluation. The process of evaluation is intended to serve as an instrument for decisions on educational strategies. It is thus to be utilized in order to improve the quality of the results and achievements. Evaluation is implemented at all levels in the school system.

This change will affect the school system in such a way that the local professional schoolteachers and schooldirectors will have more influence on the activities performed in the local schools. They will not any longer just have to carry out centrally developed national directives. They will, however, be requested to develop, together with the students, goals for teaching and learning in their classes, and to find ways to implement

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the national educational goals. This way of interaction could be named, as it is translated directly from Swedish, as 'participatory goal steering'. This enhanced responsibility will also create a need for in-service teacher training to enable teachers to act professionally in the process of modernization and policy-making in the local schools.

These aspects of the proposed modernization of the curriculum might be regarded as the third copernican quantum leap: a change from steering via rules to steering via goals, a change from just fulfilling national goals to participatory goal attainment, a shift of influence from national to local levels. This also means a change of the point of gravity in the school system from conference rooms in the capital city to classrooms in the local towns.

TOWARDS A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON KNOWLEDGE

In the proposed new curriculum a detailed discussion of the interaction between the two didactical concepts 'development' and 'learning' from the perspective of education and from a philosophical point of view was undertaken. The concepts of knowledge are carefully analyzed according to their epistemological and ontological aspects. In the same context the rationalistic, empirical and constructivistic aspects of knowledge are also discussed. As a conclusion it is stressed that knowledge does not aim at reaching a point where it is able to give a picture or map of the world. Instead, it is pointed out that every individual student develops his own specific knowledge and creates an individual 'cognitive ecology' in order to make the world understandable for himself.

The proposed curriculum also points out that teaching is not just a process where knowledge is handed out by the teacher to a passively receiving student. Instead, the student should be regarded as an active learning individual, a 'cognitive agent'. 'Knowledge is created in an interaction between what one wants to learn, what one has learned and the problems and experiences one makes in the process of attaining the goal of learning'. The proposed curriculum heavily stresses this constructivistic way of regarding knowledge and regards learning as a process. The role of the teacher is no longer seen as one of just teaching a subject. Instead, the teacher should actively try to create a learning environment in which the student can study in an autonomous way. This is also one step in the process of training the student to regard learning as a lifelong process. These intentions may be difficult to meet as a budget cut affects money allocated to schools. In reality, this means for the teachers larger groups to deal with and the intended individualistic way of teaching the students might be hard to attain.

It is also pointed out in the proposed curriculum that knowledge has an important contextual aspect. This means that the attainment of knowledge always implicates that somebody learns something in some context. This implicates that the teacher should try less of learning by rote and instead put stress on connections and links to e.g. other subjects or to the everyday world which surrounds us.

The historical context in which the actual knowledge was created and originated from is also of importance when learning. The student is thus urged to question how knowledge of the specific item under discussion came about, and not only to ask about the item itself. The students are urged to seek not only knowledge, but also to look for the sources of this specific knowledge. The question: 'What do we know?' should be supplemented by a second question: 'How do we know that?'

Knowledge should also be regarded as a tool or as an enlargement of the faculties of the learner. This is called the functional aspect of knowledge. The proposed curriculum stresses also in this context that it is important for the students to find ways of utilizing their knowledge for uses they find rewarding and meaningful. This is in contrast with the traditional perspective on learning, where what is worth learning is defined by the teacher.

In this context different forms of knowledge are also presented and analyzed. Knowledge is more than facts, it is also understanding and skills. All these forms are discussed and compared. It is stressed that the teacher should try to utilize all these forms of knowledge in his teaching.

In this context the proposed curricula also stress the importance of gaining more understanding in a holistic way as compared to learning more disparate facts. Modern theories of learning show beyond doubt that knowledge which is not lost as time passes is anchored in some sort of cognitive structure of the students mind. The fundamental aim of the school system is of course to provide students with sustainable knowledge. This goal might be attained if knowledge is regarded as meaningful by the students and is learned in a contextual perspective which is familiar to the student. This shows once more the importance of utilizing everyday concepts when teaching students. It also points out the importance of questioning the students about their preconcepts and to teach in a way that the scientific concepts will be linked to the preconcepts of the students.

These aspects of knowledge could be regarded as the fourth copernican quantum leap: they thus imply a change from an empirical and rationalistic view on knowledge towards a constructivistic view of knowledge. They also imply a change from learning by rote to meaningful learning in a contextual setting and to regard the preconcepts of the students with respect and as startingpoints for teaching.

A Changed View on Learning

In the proposed curriculum, different theories of learning are studied and discussed. Among those views on learning are the theories of pioneers like J. Dewey, B.F. Skinner, J. Piaget and L. Vygotsky. The theoretical aspects of learning and teaching, mostly referred to in the proposed curriculum change have their origin in the theories of Jean Piaget and Lew Vygotsky. This didactical point of view is taken as the starting point for the present fundament of our theory of learning. According to Vygotsky, learning will improve cognitive development. This is in some opposition to the theory given by Jean Piaget who holds the view that learning depends on the development of the learner. Learning has, according to Vygotsky, many aspects and one of these aspects is the utilization of language in the creation of concepts. Vygotsky develops in his theoretical approach an interesting concept called 'the zone of proximal development'. This is the zone between what a student can perform with the help of a teacher and what he can perform himself. The proposed curriculum urges the teachers to take this zone into account in their teaching. Vygotsky also stresses the importance of learning concepts by a 'circular curriculum' in which the meaning of a concept is given by its use in the language. In the same spirit one may also talk about utilizing an hermeneutical circle. These ways of analysing the process of learning implicate the importance of learning not only as an individual enterprise, but also as a social process in which the student learns by interaction with other students and with the surroundings. Language plays a very

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important role in this process. Learning has apart from the traditional dimensions of psychology and biology also a social dimension which should be taken into account when teaching.

In this theoretical approach to teaching and learning it is also argued for the utilization of a scientific way of working in the classroom. This means that learning might be regarded as an emancipatory process with the aim of liberating the student from authorities. Instead of asking the teacher about the 'right' answer, the student should be trained to look for ways to find the answer himself.

This change could be regarded as the fifth copernican quantum leap: a change in the view on learning, from learning as depending on cognitive development to learning as improving cognitive development, a change from learning as an individualistic process to learning as a social process and a striving towards a scientific view on learning.

The proposed curriculum reform, as discussed above, will be presented to the Swedish parliament and be voted about in the fall of 1993. This paper is not only written as a presentation of an internal Swedish change in the national school system. The points presented above may be regarded as steps which a highly industrialized nation is forced to take in order to achieve a modernization of its educational system. These steps are to be taken as a preparation for a move beyond the industrializing phase in the history of the nation and into the realms of a 'post-industrial' phase of societal development. Therefore this discussion might be of interest for people outside Sweden, as their nations proceed in their processes of modernization. Other nations might thus gain valuable information by regarding this Swedish experiment for finding a new identity in a world which is striving for modernization.

AADU OTT

The Educational System in Denmark

The Spirit and Values in the Danish Educational System

Within the last three hundred years the spirit and values of the Danish school system has developed from attaching importance to the pupils relationship with God towards focusing upon the self-development and process of realisation of the pupil.

The school system of Denmark is, as elsewhere in Europe, 'the daughter of the church'. Until 1536 when the Reformation came to Denmark through Germany, education was in the hands of the church. The aim of education then was to understand the bible. After the Reformation the Roman church was taken over by the crown and the bible was translated into Danish. These facts changed the spirit of education.

Education became more common and Martin Luther who brought reformation to Denmark devoted great importance to bible-reading and to the relationship of the individual soul with God. Luthers little handbook called *The Catechism* became the most-used textbook in schools for three hundred years.

Niels Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783-1872), a poet and a thinker, broke with the so-called bible tradition. Grundtvig has exercised a powerful influence upon the development of Danish schools. He was sternly critical of the dry humanistic grammar schools with their barren book-learning calling them 'schools of death' and he drew up plans for a 'school of life' for young people to be both personal and national in character, where an independent popular education was to be developed, based on the Danish tongue and Nordic culture.

The pedagogy of Grundtvig was based upon the idea of 'a living alternate effect'. This 'living alternate effect' was to take place between the pupils and the teacher and between the pupils in a dialogue. In these relationships he found it necessary to help and bear with each other, when it came to the living acknowledgement through dialogue. Grundtvig believed in a natural potential for development inherent in the child's mind and therefore a liberal narrative education was obvious. The child or the adult had to take an active part in education and no longer just 'learn by rote'. Grundtvig's ideas were translated into practice by Christian Kold who created the so-called 'free schools' which are uniquely Danish.

Grundtvig has not been the only one who had an impact on the Danish school system. In 1903 an important law was passed. It was the law of the unified school system, which corresponds to the comprehensive school. The foundation of the unified school system was the ideas of democracy and equality supported by the idea of 'a popular community'.

Two political parties played an important role in the conception and creation of the unified school, namely the party *Venstre*, an old party founded upon the interests of the peasants, and the *Socialdemokratiet* ('Social Democrats'), known as the party of the workers. According to them, the unified school would give everyone the possibility of social mobility, and society would benefit by the increasing mobility of resources among the masses.

Equality and liberty are very important values in the Danish education system. Because of their importance the Danes discuss them a lot. There are people in Denmark who feel threatened, because they think that there

is an internal tension between the two concepts of equality and liberty. Is it because liberty for the individual to unfold, necessarily creates social inequality, or is it rather dissimilarity we could speak of? Does dissimilarity necessarily create social inequality? Is social mobility just an illusion using the school to make it possible?

Knowing that the spirit and values of the Danish educational system are not unambiguous and without problems I summarize some of the most important ones:
(a) The individual, as pointed out by Grundtvig, has a natural potential for development, and therefore a liberal narrative education is obvious.
(b) The unfolding of the person is of basic importance to maintain democracy and a meaningful folk-community.
(c) The unified school is the bearer of the cultural values of Danish society. Everyone in Denmark should have the possibility of getting to know and share a part of these cultural values through equal access to the Danish 'folkeskole' (primary and secondary education), our compulsory school. Through the 'folkeskole' equality and liberty should live hand in hand.

Three questions referring to the Danish educational system could be brought up for discussion:
(1) Do the two concepts equality and liberty involve an inner contradiction?
(2) Is social mobility through the educational system just an illusion?
(3) Does the unified school hinder the most gifted pupils and prevent an elite, which could create a higher level of scientific research work?

ANNEMARIE D. MOLINA

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The Comprehensive School in Denmark

The Danish school system is based upon both naturalism and Grundtvig's ideas (cf. McLean, Martin, *Britain and a Single Market Europe. Prospects for a Common School Curriculum*. London: Kogan Page, 1990). The view of naturalism includes concepts of intellectual and moral development of the child, of individualism and creativity, and of interaction in social groups. Inspired by Grundtvig there is also a great interest in community education.

The schooling begins at the age of seven and it is taken care of by the public institution, the *Folkeskolen*. The *Folkeskolen* is a comprehensive school. The pupils who begin in the first class are all about seven years old and they remain within the same class until the age of 16. There is no setting or streaming in the first seven years and only in the last three years does is take place. Even that may be on its way out. The new government has proposed that there should be no differentiation in the *Folkeskole*, other than *in* the class. So the pupils stay together for 9 or 10 years and get to know each other very well.

A Danish school class has teachers who teach in different subjects: Mathematics, Biology, Music and so forth. The teacher follows the class from the first year until the seventh year. But there is another sort of teacher, the 'class teacher', who has the main responsibility for the class. It is usually the teacher who teaches in Danish Reading and Writing. He or she also stays with the class as it progresses through the grades until the seventh year, but it gets more and more common that the class teacher stays with the class through 10 years, up till the graduation.

A class teacher has the responsibility for how the class is getting along with other teachers, pupils and classes, has the responsibility for the pupils well being and how they are getting along as a group, and he or she ought to be interested in the pupils development - intellectual, emotional and social. The class teacher has many pastoral and social activities, a very important thing. In addition to that the class teacher teaches the pupils to solve problems democratically and teach them to be critical. The class teacher has one hour every week where he or she as well as the pupils may bring up subjects or problems relating to the class, in fact a weekly lesson in practical democracy.

How can a class teacher manage all this? There is a pressure from outside the school, from society, from parents. New subjects and demands are coming up faster and faster. Society and parents expect teachers to be up to date with these new subjects and demands. They want the class teachers and other teachers to do all they can and more than that. The class teachers are from time to time very frustrated, but they try to find their own limits, try to find out how much they can manage.

The class teacher usually has a good contact with the parents. The parents come to the school when they are invited, for instance once a year, to see what their children have made during the year in the creative subjects. Once or twice a year the parents are invited to the school in the evening where the class teacher and some of the other teachers will talk with the parents about their child. Sometimes parents are invited to so-called 'feature weeks'. Here the pupils are working, not in their own class but in a group together with other pupils from other classes from the school. Then the pupils are working with only one or two subjects or projects that week. Here the parents may come and tell the children about their job or may teach the pupils things they are good at.

There is always a few parents the class teacher does not have contact with. Unfortu-

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nately those are often parents of children who cause problems in the class.

Parents are also involved in the school in another way. Every school has a democratically selected council consisting of 7 parents, 2 teachers, 2 pupils and the headmaster of the school. This council has the responsibility for the pedagogical principles of the school and also for the school's budget. The power is taken from the teachers and given to the parents, though the headmaster has the veto. The question is whether this new organisation will change the school. Will it make it better? Only time can tell.

DORTE MADSEN

67

The Free Schools in Denmark

Besides the state school system in Denmark, we have a considerable amount of free schools. Free schools are both primary schools from 1st to 7th grade, in Danish *friskole*, and continuation schools from 8th to 10th grade, in Danish *efterskole*. The free schools are private schools receiving state support. The state provides 50-85% of all educational operational expenditures.

Between 10-13% of all Danish students receive their education outside the public school, the *folkeskole*. Even though the parents have to pay school fees, in general the schools are not elite schools. A broad section of the population can afford them, if they make it an economical priority to send their child there.

The free schools have a long tradition in Danish history. In the beginning they were important for the co-operative movement of peasants one hundred years ago. Since then they have realized pedagogical alternatives giving children and parents a possibility to choose other kind of values and practices.

The Danes, in general, are proud of the free schools system because it, as a modern institution, seems able to renew itself and to adjust to the changing needs of modern society.

Free Primary Schools

The first one was started by Christian Kold who expressed and realized ideas close to Grundtvig. In 1855 the first law was passed, giving parents a right to establish their own schools and employ teachers by their own choice. In 1880, we found that 4% of the children who attended school in the country side went to the free schools, rural schools founded on the values expressed by Kold and Grundtvig or on different religious communities.

Before, there had been private schools in the cities, but they only followed traditional pedagogical methods. Their aim was to give the new middle class a better education.

Since then those two forms of free or private schools have continued to exist. And still today we see the same picture. We have what we call private schools using the same methods as the public schools but with particular stress on the intellectual subjects and proficiency. The other free schools are founded on a broad variety of religious, political, and humanistic values. We have for instance catholic schools, Freinet schools, traditional Grundtvig schools, and socialist schools. Today there are about 400 different free schools. The schools may be very different in their methods, subjects and ideas, but in general they practice a child-centred education, trying to develop free creative children and teach them responsibility in society.

The differences between free primary schools and the public schools are not so much found in conflicting values but in the actual practice of values and the opportunities for smaller schools to realize the aim of independent creative children.

The free schools have of course also been criticised. One point of discussion concerns the competition with the public schools. Even though the free schools are not only for rich people or a small elite, in fact mostly well-to-do, harmonious families send their children to free schools. If this tendency is increased the public schools might be 'emptied' of these children.

This discussion is very important; however, in my opinion we can not solve it by abolishing state financing of free schools. The debate must involve many more aspects, for instance, about increased educational competition in society, unemployment, economical resources, etc.

The Continuation Schools

The Danish continuation schools are for teenagers from 8th to 10th grade. Many of the continuation schools are boarding schools. They also have a long tradition but especially in the seventies and eighties new schools have been established. During these years the number of students have increased accordingly. They are founded on as broad a variety of values as the free primary schools. Today we have 215 continuation schools. The students take the same kind of examinations after 9th or 10th grade as they do in the public school.

It has become common for many young people to spend at least one year in a continuation school. One reason for this could be that parents have a certain political or religious conviction and they want to influence their teenager in that direction. Another reason could be wishing the young person to develop his or her interests in sports, music, drama, or practical activities. Other reasons could be a wish to face new challenges, to make new friends or to gain more confidence among others.

These reasons are what we could call positive motivations. On the other hand, there are also some negative motivations which could be family problems or problems at school. Family problems could be a lot of quarrelling between parents and teenager. At school, especially in the older classes, we have a well known problem of young people being 'school-tired'. And since we have 9 years of compulsory school it has become a common practice to solve the problem of school-tired students by sending them to the continuation schools.

To give an example of the life and education in a continuation school, I can tell that I have been myself working two years in such a school. We combined the education in 10th grade with a four month's travel by bus to India. Before the trip, and after, the students concentrated on learning English, Social Science, History and Religion. Together with another teacher I was responsible for a group of 16 students not only in educational activities, but also for the whole business of the travelling and of the social functioning in the group. It meant that we had to discuss and solve social conflicts. My experience was that the work demanded a lot of resources from the teachers and also from the students, but it was also giving a lot of energy and, as a consequence, a strong feeling of solidarity among students and teachers developed.

I think that the success of the continuation school today stems from this idea of combining theoretical and practical education, the possibility to be friends with your teacher, and the importance being attached to common social life on the one hand and personal development on the other.

By saying this I am painting a flattering picture of the continuation school. And I must admit that I am positive. But at the same time I think that many problems of the modern society are left to teachers in continuation schools who must accomplish too many roles and functions - as 'parents', as 'social workers', and as 'teachers' in many subjects and fields. In the continuation schools we find problems of alcohol and soft drugs and sometimes violence between the students and even against teachers. Some, but only few, schools have been closed because of such problems. Another problem is that even though some schools are offering more practical activities, they, in many cases, act as a depository until the youngsters are old enough to take an active part in labour and society.

The success of the continuation schools may also be a result of the family becoming insufficient in teaching the children the necessary values and functions in modern society. Modern values being community mindedness, problem solving skills and

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flexibility. In general, all free schools are stressing such modern values.

Some questions could be raised, for instance whether a free school system can do it better than the public schools, or: should we welcome an increase of the free schools at the expense of the public schools? Maybe the idea of public schools is already old fashioned and the future system will be a more free school system?

HANNE HANSEN

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Adult Education in Denmark

In Denmark there is a strong tradition of adult education. 30% of the adult population are students at any one time. Adult education is thought of as 'popular enlightenment' (*folkeoplysning*), a word that literally means 'bring light to the people'. It is a part of a national characteristic of the Danes. To understand this Grundtvig and his ideas have to be mentioned. This will lead to the history of the development of the Folk High Schools and the Evening Schools. Adult education has developed a lot and, in our time, there is a number of adult education courses. Some different types will be outlined briefly. Finally, I will look at the current policy of education and some future trends in Denmark.

N.F.S. Grundtvig's ideas and thoughts have deeply influenced the Danish tradition of adult education. He advanced the idea that education should take form of a dialogue between equal partners in a free atmosphere. That would make each individual capable of expressing himself and establishing his own position in life by means of a larger self-respect. These ideas founded a wholly now type of schools: the Folk High Schools.

The *Folk High Schools'* students were mainly the farmers' sons and daughter. During their stay in the residential schools they would learn about Danish culture. They participated in activities such as singing, lectures, and narratives on Mythology and the Bible, recitation of Poetry, National History, Writing, Arithmetic, and Physical Exercise.

Today there are about one hundred residential Folk High Schools offering courses from one week to nine months. The Folk High Schools are now attended by people of all ages, from all over the country. There are no leaving examinations. The most common subjects are Danish Literature, History, Social Studies, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Languages, Psychology, and Music. Practical work has an increasing role in the courses.

There have never been examinations or other forms of control of content in relation to the Folk High Schools, although there has always been a certain amount of state subsidizing.

Another form of adult education is the *Evening School*. These schools came to play an important role in the beginning of this century. They mainly addressed the workers, but became in the course of time open to all adults.

In the second half of this century the start of a flexible mass education for adults was founded. *General Adult Education*, *Continued Professional Education* and *Development Projects* are new categories, in addition to the Folk High Schools and the Evening Schools.

The *Day Folk High Schools* are also adult education. The subjects and the educational principles are the same as at the Folk High Schools but they are not residential. There are about one hundred, financed by the state and the local authorities. Many of the participants are unemployed.

A part of the Day Folk High Schools are the *Production Schools*. They offer young unemployed people a chance to improve themselves in a programme which encompasses both theoretical and practical education.

The *General Adult Education Programme with examinations* is a single-subject course in general subjects. The programmes are open to everyone above the age of eighteen and are funded by the counties. Participation is free apart from a small registration fee. The curriculum and the level are the same as in secondary and upper secondary education for young people. There are about 80 regional adult education centres in the

country, and about 80,000 adults participate every year.

Denmark has a lot of different types of adult education, each governed by its own rules. But there are some common trends. The national tradition has been that all general adult education should, within certain reasonable limits, be subsidized by the public. Nevertheless, as the result of the last decade of overconsumption in public expenditure it has been necessary to demand an increasing participants fee. Participants in vocational training at the labour market centres receive a salary to go there. Continuous professional education is not subsidized by the state, instead the employer or the participants pay for it.

In Adult Education the general rule is that participants themselves make decisions and hold the authority. In the Folk High Schools and Evening Schools participants decide freely what they want to learn and how they want to be taught. In General Education there is also much freedom, however, a certain content and level has to be achieved, demanded by the examination authorities. Vocational training on the other hand is characterised by detailed decisions from above.

The current national policy seems to maintain certain principles: the free choice of the participants; decentralised local decision making; that adult education is of central importance to the nation and, therefore, general adult education should be subsidized by the public but kept under control and with small or moderate fees from participants.

The future policy and needs of adult education raise a lot of questions. A high rate of unemployment may demand a larger call for education, not for the need of a job but for a need of personal development. We have to rethink the relation between the labour market, employment and adult education. Some political parties and trade unions in Denmark have argued that an arrangement of paid freedom of access to adult eduction could solve several problems for the country at the same time.

Presently there are two different trends: One is a strictly qualification-oriented and job-related training programme and the other is an attempt to preserve and develop the tradition, that popular enlightenment should deal with the essential problems of life and of our time. It seems that Denmark is moving in the latter direction. The acknowledgement that there are not enough jobs leads to a need to give everyone a fulfilling life also outside the labour market.

TRINE INGEBERG

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Actual Trends in Danish Education Policy

The current trends in Danish education policy centre around quality and decentralization. Before this is dealt with some few remarks on our modern world.

In these years the boundaries in Europe are phasing out - more or less. Free mobility is becoming a central factor in our civilization. We can still choose how we want to organize our own society - but we have to take the consequences if we organize it in a way which can not compete with other countries. The quality of our educational system will constantly undergo a critical comparison with the quality in other countries.

We have to consider these increased demands on quality in relation to three factors, namely, structural changes in the labourmarket, new technology, and increased competition. In light of these facts we see, given a birds eye view, two trends in Danish education policy: quality and decentralization.

Decentralization is a restructuring of the education system which, translated to business language, is supposed to fulfil the needs of the consumers. Furthermore, decentralization gives a greater and more effective 'production' and a better quality of the products - and in this case the students are the products.

One of the most important means in relation to decentralization is the introduction of a goal and frame management, i.e. power and responsibility are given to those institutions which deliver exams. Some politicians think that it is the best way to secure quality, especially if there is a competition between the institutions. It is argued that this arrangement secures local needs and possibilities. The teachers will be encouraged to create quality and development and to give the institution a profile. Money is distributed according to a so-called economical taxameter system. It means that the institutions are given an amount of money proportional to the number of students. The institutions freely decide if they want to spend the money on some new books or on a trip to Milan.

You can say it is the school council *and* the leader who now have educational and economical freedom. The counterpart of this freedom is the user's free choice between the different schools. In this way the schools are kept to the mark concerning the best use of the economical resources and to secure the relevance and the quality in the education.

It is, however, possible to analyze this arrangement from another angle. The institutions have to keep students even if their results are poor, at any price because drop-outs result in less money. The same critics call attention to the fact that this new tendency in education policy uses words and ideas, picked up from the market economy. The critics are concerned that productivity and efficiency will become the essential quality instruments. But the aim of the schools includes something more, namely to create understanding, reflectivity, thoughtfulness, and independence in an atmosphere of freedom and free scope. Furthermore, the free choice of the schools may result in a strong competition, a very heterogeneous education system, and students with educational problems.

If quality implies competition we might end up with a qualitative heterogeneity. Even though the idea of equality is replaced by the idea of freedom it is very doubtful whether we can secure a positive development in the education system.

It is not up to us to decide whether the critics are right or wrong in pointing out that it is impossible to create decentralization and quality at the same time. But to discuss the problems of the concept of quality is indeed very necessary and useful, especially against

the background of the increasing instrumentalisation and internationalisation of our society. The problem is what we should understand by 'quality'? How do we define it? Is it possible to measure it? We also have to consider whether we have any knowledge of the role of the central system in a decentralized system. How much variation are we willing to accept within the aims and methods of education and how do we secure that fundamental demands can be observed by central control?

In Denmark the international perspective is firmly established in higher education. Our new education system, with the introduction of the bachelor degree, is a way to fulfil the demands of the society. We have to think, communicate and act in a rational way. Our educational aid from public funds, combined with the taxameter system, means that the students have to work hard all the time, so that they will be able to *show* their productivity and efficiency. The bachelor model intensifies these trends.

INGE PALESSEN

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Elements of modernity in present Danish education

How can one consider the Danish educational system in relation to the idea of *modernity*? I will deal with this in the light of the theories of Giddens and Habermas.

Anthony Giddens in his *Consequences of modernity* (Cambridge: Political Press, 1990) mentions several symptoms of modernity such as (1) globalization, (2) the rearranging and reordering of social relations and values in the light of new knowledge, and (3) rapidity of change.

The Danish educational system can be considered in many ways a very modern system: this applies to its advantages as well as its disadvantages:

(1) *Globalization* has had great impact on the Danish educational system. The fact that the Danish language is only understood by the other Scandinavian nationalities has led to an old tradition of teaching and use of foreign languages, also in the primary school. The issue in Denmark is not *if* you should strengthen the foreign language education on all levels of the educational system but rather how and when this should be done. However, the growing influence of English in everyday life (especially through the electronic mass media) has led to a fear, among native language researchers, of the withering away of the national identity. Still, the homogeneity of the Danes (we have one language covering the whole nation) makes this fear seem a bit exaggerated.

But globalization is not only a language question: It is also a matter of consciousness about the rest of the world. This consciousness is fairly high in the Danish educational system, also based on the century long tradition of people's enlightenment which dates back from the peasant movement in the nineteenth century and the workers movement in this century. This does not mean that the Danes do not sometimes harbour a parochial attitude e.g. towards refugees and immigrants.

(2) As for the *rearranging of social order and social values* in the light of new knowledge, this tends to be an important part of the ideology of the Danish educational system (one could question to what extent a reordering of the social order is a fact or an idea). To quote some of the aims of the Danish law on primary and secondary education (the *folkeskole*) from 1975:

> Chap. 1. §2. (2) 'The *folkeskole* shall, in all its activities, endeavour to create such possibilities for experience and self-expression that can promote the pupils' urge to learn, to expand his imagination *and to develop his capacity for independent judgement and critical opinions.*
> (3) 'The *Folkeskole' shall prepare the pupils for active participation in life and decision-making in a democratic society and for sharing responsibility for solving common problems. The education activities of the school and its daily life as a whole must therefore be based on intellectual freedom and democracy.* (Act on the Folkeskole *(Consolidation Act No. 438 of 20th June 1989)*, Ministry of Education, Denmark). My italics)

This highlights the real importance given to the individual pupils' development (some of the institutional expressions of this have been described earlier).

The last decade has been characterised by increased weight on the importance of *values* from the Ministry of Education. However, I consider this to be a reflection of the lack of absolute values in society as a whole. A desperate attempt to turn the clock back to the days before late modernity. The mere attempt seems to reflect that values today do not spring naturally from the culture of the school. Rather, they have to be acquired

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more or less intentionally by the pupils in a process where they watch their parents, teachers and peers. In this sense there is logic in the former Minister of Education's stress on the necessity for outspoken attitudes from teachers. But the school system is still a carrier of some very important values: democracy, shared responsibility, creativity and self-motivated activity. This does not always, unfortunately, materialize in the everyday life of the Danish schooi.

(3) A gradual increase in the *rapidity of change* in this century has resulted in increased economic management of the educational system. For the last decade the key word for state policy, and this also includes the educational policy, has been *modernization*. Modernization means exactly an increased focusing on *economical* management and on educational objectives. 'Modernization' is for many Danish educationalists a highly instrumentalist concept: educational institutions in Denmark today exist in a world where the financing of the year to come is determined to an increasingly great extent by this year's number of students and their exams. This is supposed to make the educational system function more rationally. But as a participant in this process, one ask oneself whether this kind of policy does not lead to frustration and disillusion. If we consider efficiency in the light of some of the values which are reflected by, for instance, the objectives quoted above, then it may instead lead to a *less* efficient education. Thus, the modern educational policy is somehow contradictory: the more instrumentalised way of looking at education leads to a break with the idea of popular enlightenment.

The German philosopher Jürgen Habermas analyzes the world as divided in two spheres: life-world and system-world (cf. 'Die Moderne - Ein unvollendetes Projekt', in: J. Habermas *Kleine politische Schriften* I-IV Frankfurt/M, 1981). The life-world is the sphere of the common and shared human communication, whereas the system-world is a sphere of instrumentalist and object-orientated rationalism. Habermas points out that modern capitalism has a greenhouse effect on system thinking. System thinking gradually colonizes the life-world. One could look at the Danish educational system in this theoretical frame-work: The modern values developed in the nineteenth century based on the rural communities and carried on by workers and in the nineteen-sixties the growing professional middle class represent conversation, dialogue etc. This is under attack from other elements of modernity namely intensified demands for specific qualifications and economic steering.

The Danish educational system is caught up in the contradictions of modernity or modern capitalism. On the one hand it pursues the development of its pupils into democratic, internationalistic citizens of a future democracy. This pursuit is aided by the reflexivity inherent in the Danish educational tradition. On the other hand instrumentalisation and lack of values seem to lead to a development, where mere economic rationality and narrow qualifications threaten this pursuit. Unemployment forces the individual to a narrower demand for specific qualifications.

My thesis is that this corresponds with the development in other European nation states. But that is a matter for discussion.

TOMAS ELLEGAARD

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Recent problems in Hungarian educational policy

The political changes in 1980-90 opened up new paths in every aspect of life in Hungary. These changes should result in a democratic society based on pluralistic values; and at the same time a number of problems rooted in economic crisis came about.

Educational policy has also been seeking new ways and modes of handling its problems. Yet the years preceding the political changes had already witnessed a somewhat liberal treatment of educational issues even in the ideologically biased climate of the socialist era. The emergence of the pluralistic society, however, has livened up educational thinking, has encouraged overt debates on several issues of education.

Much of the debate concerning education in Hungary is of a political nature and solutions are only partly in the hands of professionals. A good example of this statement is the new Public Education Act which is discussed in Parliament in May and June. Educational experts think that this has been the case for a long time: changes in education have been tied to important turning points in social and political history. Kozma 1990. One of the most characteristic examples is the nationalization of schools in 1948 which resulted in an exclusive influence of the socialist ideology. The state monopoly of schooling could not be questioned till the eighties.

What characterized this period of educational policy in Hungary? The state assumed the obligation of providing free education to everybody. The concept of free schooling was part of the socialist ideology: equal chances to cultural and educational means. This principle, however, could not be fulfilled entirely. The financing of education was characterised by narrow budgets, low expenditure.

Therefore, equal chances tended to a lower levelling among pupils as a result of insufficient financing. Another aspect of equal chances was that it meant a strictly centralized implementation of educational goals, curriculum, which, in turn, lent a uniform nature of education leading again to a lower level of quality and instead of mediocrity for excellence. Education was unable and not willing to handle - both for economic and ideological reasons - differences among pupils, different needs of parents and pupils.

The emerging pluralistic educational setting offers different solutions, opportunities on macro- and micro- levels as well. It has become clear that we have to face new problems. The difficulties stem from the new situation created by this pluralistic setting. Most of the problems, however, are the 'teething troubles' of a forming democracy.

In this article I attempt to focus on some of these difficulties without giving an exhausting discussion of either the problems of our school system or the developments of educational legislation. Instead, I would rather lay emphasis on the issues of *breaking down the state monopoly of schooling* and *introducing alternative educational programs*. Both problems centre around the key questions of educational pluralism.

The breaking down of the state monopoly in education is a basic requirement in a pluralistic society. It means that the right of establishing and maintaining schools, the autonomy of schools are legally guaranteed to local communities, denominations, private persons - within a set scope. Although this principle is widely accepted in Hungary the practical consequences have generated de-

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bates. A pluralistic school system is exposed to market conditions. It follows that the financing of schools must become multi-channelled relying not only on state resources but on local funds and tuition fees as well (Halász - Lukács 1990). The problem is that market economy has not yet fully developed in Hungary, state redistribution is still dominating (Várhegyi 1992). Therefore the newly established private schools, church schools also rely heavily on normative (per capita) subvention, yet they depend partly on tuition fees. The budget of private schools uses 1/3 state resources 2/3 tuition fees and grants (Várhegyi 1992). In Hungary the economic situation does not allow for most people to pay for the real costs of education. This leads to a further problem expressed by many experts and the public opinion: equal chances in education are in danger. Although basic education is free, parents have to pay for educational facilities which used to be free, e.g. day care. So access to education (or better education) may be determined by the individuals' financial means. As the society has strong egalitarian expectations the question to which extent individuals are able to contribute to the costs of education will generate long and hot debates. This problem is more vital in a country with limited means than in more affluent societies.

The existence of alternative educational programs is closely related to this topic. The term alternative educational programs has been used to indicate educational goals and contents different from the officially accepted programs of the state schools. The emergence of the alternative programs is the sign of educational pluralism and refers to the presence of different values within the school system. Instead of an ideological indoctrination characteristic of a monolith school system alternative educational programs offer a choice from values. Different value preferences have become accepted phenomena. The appearance of private schools and church schools is closely linked to the spreading of alternative educational programs.

Most of the newly established private schools have sought 'child-centred' values and have built up their programs on the theory and practice of Montessori, Freinet or Rudolf Steiner, Carl Rogers etc. These famous representatives of educational thinking conveyed messages from which Hungarian society had been isolated. The rediscovering of the child-centred education, the New School movement has, however, revealed problems. Is it not late, historically seen, to turn to educational theories and practices that had their renaissance decades ago? How can these pedagogues answer the questions raised in present day situation in Hungary? Do they offer overall solutions to educational problems? Many teachers think it is justified to turn to these well-founded pedagogues. Yet one is able to detect the nostalgia behind these efforts. It is not at all sure that the mentioned pedagogues can fit into the social and educational conditions of an other era. Nonetheless these alternative educational programs are the signs of autonomy and pluralism. Some experts even think that they represent new educational paradigms (Lukács (Ed.) 1991).

Related to the breaking down of the state monopoly and the emergence of alternative educational programs we have to face the question of how a pluralistic educational setting can handle the dilemma of unity and variety. To what extent can a society endure the variety in schools, values, educational programs without risking its functions? Where does the consensus lie in a pluralistic school system? (Lukács (Ed.) 1991) A national curriculum has been worked on for a long time in order to establish the standards in education. The debates over it show the difficulties of this kind of problem. Most teachers and educators prefer an output

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regulated school system the realization of which does not seem to be in the near future.

Another problem emerging in the pluralistic school system concerns denominational schools. Before the war the Hungarian school system was characterized by the majority of schools owned by the churches. The socialist system nationalized them and religious views were prosecuted and - later - not supported. Now the churches can apply for return of their schools. Recent educational policy encourages the churches to lay claim on some of their old schools, where, in some cases, teachers have created new traditions of education. Thus a conflict of religious and public interests is inherent in these situations.Conflicts arise on whether religious instruction should have the same rights and priorities as other subjects (Whiting 1992).

The questions briefly outlined here may give an insight into the nature of problems Hungarian educational policy has to face. A deeper understanding requires a more thorough knowledge of the historical, social and political context in which the Hungarian educational system works.

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Education and modernization in Greece

Introduction

The relationship of education and modernization is a critical problem that is likely to acquire larger dimensions as modern societies continue to evolve and change, dragging educational systems behind them in a pathetic lag. This is also very true with regard to the Greek system of education that has been historically marked by a gap between its content and the rapidly changing social and occupational needs of the country.

This paper discusses the relationship between education and the occupational structure in modern Greek society. It attempts to underline the problematic character of the Greek educational system, that has proved to be unsatisfactory in terms of responding to the occupational needs of the Greek people. In spite of the relatively impressive scores of the educational expansion these can be highly questionable where the possibility of cashing them in, in the occupational structure is concerned. It further argues, that the Greek educational system practices a weak social selection and that its mechanisms do not fulfil the same objectives, as the educational systems in advanced capitalist societies, that are authorised to place candidates in the occupational vacancies and influence the income of the individuals.

This can be well attributed to the particular historical-economic background of the Greek state that has brought into prominence, processes of selection and appropriation of income other than the open and meritocratic ones. The former has determined the contemporary form of the country and the function of its institutions, to the extent that these are remarkably reflected in the system of education. In this context, the system of education is assumed to have played a rather different role in Greece, compared to that of educational systems of the majority of European States. Greek schools must reform and modernize now, if they are to assume a useful role and serve their real purpose: help people live better, by improving their political maturity and by contributing to their professional development and carrier in the job market. This might result if the system of education becomes more selective, decentralised, based on the widest consensus and profited from the technological innovations that have transformed, the communication of information and ideas.

Education and the Occupational Structure: Equality of Opportunity vs. Equality of Outcome

The role of education in modern society has monopolised, during the last sixty years, the attention of a large number of social scientists, where education has largely been statuted as a means of selection and allocation of individuals in the occupational structure, and, in this way contributing to the legitimating of the occupational hierarchy. Education has thus been authorised to carry out this task, being assumed to operate on the basis of a relatively autonomous meritocratic logic. The gradual elevation of the role of education, as a provider of credentials for employment and subsequently as factor of social ascent and wealth, has put it into focus and has led several social scientists, politicians and economists, to challenge the above mentioned meritocratic character on many grounds and particularly its procedures of assessment of individuals' abilities, so that they are properly educated and placed in the occupation best suited to their aptitudes and skills.

Educational systems have moreover been based on some kind of equality of access, i.e. to guarantee for all members of society the opportunity to study and therefore secure a future career (Bottomore 1990).

Yet, increasing inequalities in the society and well pronounced gaps between the social strata, have marginalised the importance of equality of access; instead, the need for equality of outcome has been brought into the centre of attention. Thus, it is not enough to seek equality in the admission of young people to the system of education, but there should also be equality later, at the bestowal of the academic awards and at the movement of individuals through the stages of the occupational structure. At this point it must be underlined that equality of outcome need not be confused with identity of outcome, bearing in mind that individuals are anticipated to leave school with the same qualifications and the same grades. Equality of outcome can by no means be taken as condition of monotonous mediocrity where the weak are supported and the strong are repressed. The aim of social policies in promoting equality of outcome is that, if the population were divided into groups, along non-educational criteria, then the achievement of those groups would be the same: if one took children with blue eyes they should match the achievement of those with brown (Robinson 1981).

However, there is little doubt that examining the educational and professional achievement of individuals so grouped, we would discover one of the most persevering facts within the Sociology of Education, at least at the advanced capitalist societies, that if we compare groups on the basis of parents' occupation, differences in both educational and professional records would be great and persistent. Another aspect concerning the relationship of education and occupational structure is the extent to which education promotes the individuals' chances of increasing their occupational status as against, for example, that of their fathers. In comparing the occupational status of fathers and children, there is reference to inter-generational mobility, thus asking to what extent children follow the occupation of their fathers. Mobility can also be examined in terms of intra-generational movement, or the extent to which the same individuals experience a change in status during their own lifetime (Heath 1981; Halsey et al. 1980).

In both cases there is reference to the amount of openness in the society. At the extremes, a completely open society would be one where the relationship between the occupations of fathers and the occupations of sons, for example, was completely random. This would be a society where status was earned by achievement, where knowing the father's occupation would not help one to predict the occupation of his children. A completely closed society would be one where status was ascribed at birth. Societies, however, are mixtures of both achievement and ascription, in which the inter-relationships of endeavour and birth are complex and changing (Halsey 1977; Blau & Dunkan 1967).

THE GREEK CASE: WEAK SELECTION AND CREDENTIAL INFLATION

Greek society has manifested an early propensity for education, that has been interpreted as a general passion of the Greek people for education and culture. Yet the latter may be attributed to the particular socio-economic background of the country, constituting one of the main characteristics of the modern Greek state. The actual factors of structural determination of the social distribution in Greece are thus likely to be considered as responsible of the above 'particu-

lar' background. As has been the case in most countries that were liberated from foreign occupation, with weak or even non-existent economies, the internal evolution of the Greek occupational structure has largely been determined by the specific and complex relations of dependency that has linked the country with the advanced capitalist countries (Tsoukalas 1969).

It is this dependency that has mainly been responsible for a large number of deformities that accompany the increased integration of Greece in the international Market. The rapidity of urbanisation, the growth of services, and especially the services centred around the state apparatus, the slow pace of industrial development and the general orientation of the people towards parasitic non-productive activities have been typical manifestations of the forms of capitalist penetration of international capital into less developed countries. The trend toward tertiary occupations has been accentuated in Greece because of the specific conditions that have accompanied the rapid integration of the country in the world economy and the subordination of practically all sectors of the country's economy to the functional necessities of the central capital. Thus a number of factors, among which the international role of Greek shipping, the importance of tourism, and more general the constant flow of capital from abroad, are likely to have been responsible for the growth of services to a higher extent than other countries (Tsoukalas 1976).

The accentuated international mobility of the labour force, one of the main features of recent international developments, has also contributed to the swelling of tertiary activities in Greece. On the one hand migration of unskilled labour towards central Europe led in the long term to massive repatriation of workers who mainly implanted themselves in the tertiary sector. On the other hand, a constantly increasing number of scientists and technicians of all branches abandoned Greece for the highly developed countries and especially the United States. Between 1961 and 1965, one fourth to one half of scientists of all branches left the country and this process was undoubtedly accentuated after the military take-over of 1967. If the brain drain does not swell the ranks of tertiary activities within the country itself, it certainly contributes to the general trend of non-productive activities (Tsoukalas 1979 & 1976).

The growing occupational turn of the Greeks towards non-productive activities has had direct effects on educational demand. More so than in other sectors, formal education is of paramount importance in the services where professional and career outlets and perspectives are to a very large extent a function of the level and quality of the education received. The rapid extension of objective vacancies in the tertiary sector has thus a multiplied effect on the demand for education facilities on all levels and particularly on secondary and higher education (Mouzelis 1979). Weak educational selection seems to have reproduced the above demand for higher education.

The high accessibility of the educational system will be demonstrated by examining the selective function of the modern Greek educational system as far as the allocation of individuals in the job market is concerned. To this end the synthesis of the first year (Academic Year 1988-89) students of the Higher (AEI) and Technological Educational Institutions (TEI) is examined. Higher Education students are classified under three social strata, in accordance with the parents' profession. Thus, according to revised data of the Greek Statistical Service (1988 Statistical Yearbook), approximately 1/5 of the students in Higher Education (AEI) originate from the Upper Strata (US), 1/2 originate from Middle Strata (MS); while 1/3 of the latter originate

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from Lower Strata (LS) (Palios 1986).

Furthermore, students of the Technological Educational Institutions (TEI), are categorised in the same way and it is interesting to note some differences in the representation of students with regards to their social origins, considering that TEIs have a 'downgraded' technical orientation and actually require lower grades from the candidates. Approximately, 1/10 of the TEI students originate from Upper Strata, 1/3 from Middle Strata, while students from Lower Strata comprised approximately 1/2 of the entire number of the first year students.

The rates of the students are then examined with regards to the distribution of their (parents) strata in the society (through the distribution of the father's occupational group in the economically active population of the country). Thus, the Upper Strata (scientists, professionals, managers and executives), comprise approximately 1/10 of the population; the Middle Strata (middle-size business owners, clerical professionals, public sector employees, and employees of the sectors of trade and services, as well as skilled workers) 1/3 and Lower Strata (farmers and loggers, as well as craftsmen, manual workers and operators of means of transport) 1/2.

A comparison of the distribution of the economically active population in Greek society with the distribution of their offspring in the population of AEIs and TEIs shows that Tertiary education, only relatively limits the acquisition of qualifications by the offspring of Lower Strata. Moreover, it is seen that the Middle Strata are very well represented in the AEI and TEI students respectively. Finally, the representation of the Upper Strata seems to be more than fair, taking also into account that a large number of the sons and daughters of the Upper Strata families go directly to foreign higher educational institutions. Special attention must be given to the relative under-representation of the offspring of the Upper Stratum in the TEIs, in comparison to their respective over-representation in the AEIs. There is a comparable situation, regarding the preferences of the Middle Strata students, given their over-representation in the AEIs and their strong under-representation in the TEIs. On the contrary, the representation of the offspring of the Lower Strata, perfectly balanced with regards to the AEIs student population, is characterised by a well pronounced over-representation in the TEIs. There should also be underlined the under-representation of the Lower Strata in the Universities, a condition partly offset by the latter's over-representation in the TEIs. This might be taken as an indication of a gradual but slow change in the preferences of the Lower Strata in favour of the Technological professions. As regards the distribution of higher education students in the various disciplines, it has been shown that the Upper Strata are very well represented in Medicine, Dentistry, Technology (Polytechnics), and Fine Arts, whereas the Lower Strata are well represented in Theology, Law, Politics, Industrial and Agricultural fields of study, as well as Economic and Commercial studies. The Middle Strata are the best represented in almost every field (Palios 1986).

Thus, it may be argued that the Greek System of Education can not be said to disfavour the equality of the educational outcomes themselves, with reference to either social and demographic origins, or gender, but the problems are likely to appear within the occupational structure, i.e. conditions of work, remuneration, possibilities of promotion etc., where vague criteria, other than the educational or occupational ones seem to be dominant (Lambiri & Dimaki 1976 & 1974).

The problematic character of the system of education is moreover reflected in the production of degree holders that cannot be absorbed by the job market. This relationship

of economic demand and educational supply can be illustrated in the following schematic representation adopted from Shubkin (1985). On the one hand occupations are ranged vertically in descending order of attractiveness, i.e. between a highest and lowest. The corresponding needs of personnel are indicated horizontally on the figure, supposing that the requirement for people to enter the 'least attractive' occupation is the greatest; the requirement for people in the next more attractive occupation is smaller and so on. The result is a pyramid shape as drawn with a solid outline in figure. On the other hand, taking into account the fact that Greeks wish to enter occupations in which the demand for personnel is severely limited, there is presented a reversed schematic situation. Thus denoting the number of Greeks wishing to embark upon a given occupation by means of a broken line there is obtained a second pyramid forming a kind of mirror image of the first. The shape of the solid pyramid is determined by the current level of development of productive forces, relations of production and the socio-economic background of society in general. The 'broken' pyramid representing the structure of aspirations, desires and hopes, depends for its shape to a large extent on the established norms and values that prevail in the society, according to which young people, and their families, rate the remunerating, prestige and security qualities of occupations. By introducing a third component of the function of the educational system, in this theoretical outline of Greek society indicated by the bold-print line, it can be seen that the educational system supply converges to a high extent with the wishes of the young people neglecting the actual economic realities (Figure 1.).

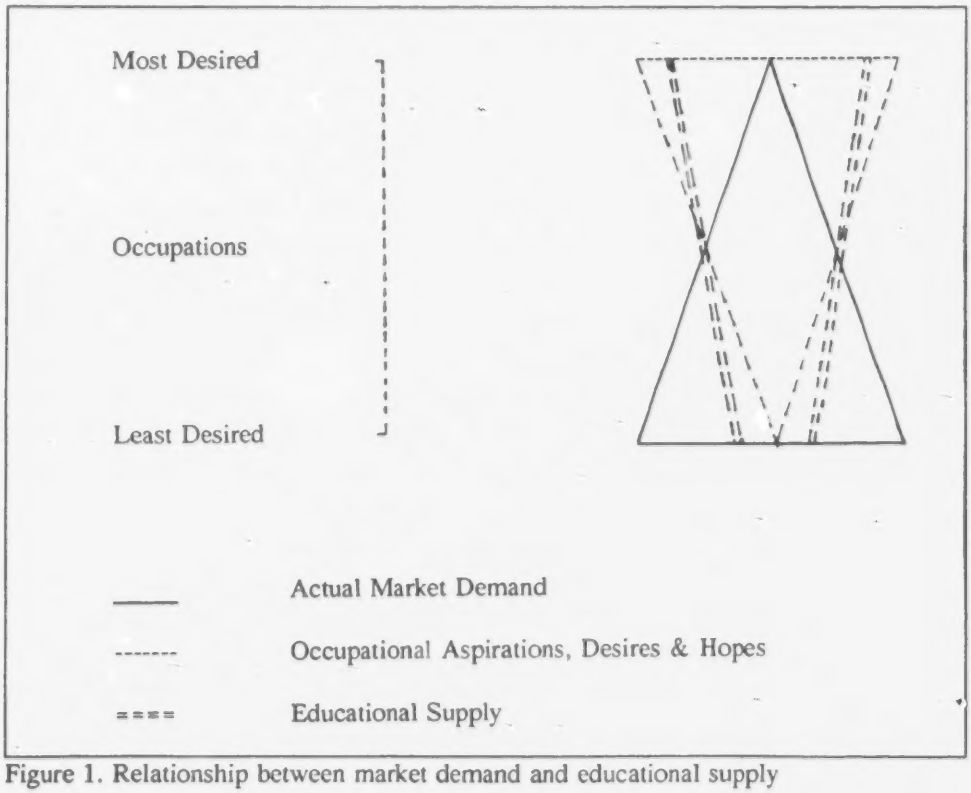

Figure 1. Relationship between market demand and educational supply

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Greek society presents certain economic and social characteristics which, due to their exceptional degree of occurrence, have distinguished the latter since the establishment of the modern Greek state in the 19th century. The high significance of the political in the appropriation wealth and the displacement/marginalisation of the relatively meritocratic capitalist logic (in which wealth and social ascent in general are determined by one's competence in the market) has brought about a distorted economy in which inefficient businesses survive causing large waste of physical and human capital in both private and public sectors, blocking economic development.

These characteristics emerged and entrenched due to specific internal and external factors that shaped the trajectory of the society. Socio-economic infra-structural realities have been transferred and reproduced in the superstructural level of Greek society. Education held a highly significant role in sustaining the established patterns in Greek society, by means of its deep theoretical content and its orientation towards the past, characteristics that have been pointed out by most of the studies on Greek education (Polychronopoulos 1980; Noutsos 1979; Dimaras 1974; Dimaki 1974). Nevertheless, two main factors have contributed to the rigidity of the educational system over the years: reluctance towards modernization and change as well as lack of relative autonomy.

From its foundation to the present decade, more and more power and control have been vested in the central government and more precisely in the ministry of education. Central control gradually extended from matters of general policy to details of everyday classroom practices; from the imposition of uniform curricula to regulations on the manning of school student councils; from the establishment of a one book per subject per grade system to an indirect - though effective - control over universities. Thus, the whole system has been characterised, on the one hand by uniformity considering that even private schools have not been allowed to offer true alternatives, and on the other by the isolation from the mainstream of any type of realistic vocational and technical orientation.

The lack of variety on the courses offered has often been attributed to the scarcity of resources which hinders the development of a more personalised and more expansive approach to learning. The same excuses have been used for the fact that the state has never met the needs and demands for school buildings and teaching staff. But the argument has also served in another direction. Whenever proposals for reform, about to alter the content and orientation of the system, were becoming too widely accepted, the state, without denying their importance and the need for them would argue that they would be unsuccessful if political or quantitative problems were not solved first. This has always proved to be a most effective way of postponing and in fact stopping any change in the status quo.

Another decisive feature of the Greek system of education has been its accessibility. The traditionally linear and democratic character of the educational system could not be found in Britain, France and the other European countries where education and especially higher education was the reserve of the upper classes (Swartz 1981; Tsoukalas 1979). Moreover, the Creek state did not provide any lower technical educational network to accommodate the offspring of the working and rural strata, as was the case in the West, at least until the 1930s. However, while before the 1920s, a large part of the educated population would go abroad and find employment in the prosperous Diaspora

communities, after the 1920s the decline of the Diaspora deprived the Greeks who could not find employment within the country's boundaries. From then on, the educational system became highly dysfunctional, albeit highly popular, for it continued producing large numbers of humanities graduates regardless of the economic needs of the country, but served the state bureaucracy well.

Hence there was established a system, in replacing emigration, paved the path from the rural areas to the urban petty bourgeoisie, constituting one of the most important courses of the developing low middle classes at the urban centres and mainly in Athens. This petty bourgeoisie continuously resorted to patronage and the black economy in order to survive. The educational system continued increasing the numbers of graduates through the post-war period up to the 1980s, but even these graduates had also to rely on patronage to gain employment. Thus, education has presented an artificial which compels students and graduates to resort to the black market and political patronage in order to find employment, since the desired occupational target seem unattainable. Education credentials in their current value do not stand on their own.

In this context the issue of modernization of the educational system (as well as other Greek institutions) in Greece raises demands of three kinds:

On the political level, the establishment of relative autonomy of the system of education viz. the political; this might be realised with the gradual withdrawal of the state and the transfer of responsibility and management of mainly primary and secondary education to the local authorities; moreover, the setting of an appropriate legal framework for the development of private education of all levels and types of educational services would contribute to this end of decentralisation and autonomy. The gradual withdrawal of the state would also favour the involvement of more social groups in educational decision making and secure a wider consensus in educational affairs.

On the academic level, it would seem suitable to abolish the current strict state control in terms of the curriculum and pedagogy. This relaxation would increase the rights of both teachers and taught and improve the relationships between the two parties. The subsequent flexibility would lead to important changes in the concepts of learning (i.e. learning to learn) and knowledge (what is to be learnt) within the system of education. These changes in the educational conduct are likely to influence the power relationships within the society (Bernstein 1991).

What is also vitally important is the transfer of the information technology to education. The latter must be enriched and supported by technological innovations which concern the communication of information and knowledge. This might be a great opportunity for the traditionalist Greek system of education to 'break through' by taking advantage of these important innovations and attract the interest of the pupils and students as well as the parents, who have long ago turned to computers, satellite television programmes and audio-visual networks (multi-media).

On the economic level, emphasis must be placed on the support of primary, secondary and further education. Moreover, introduction of fees to higher education would lead to improvement of the over-supply of university degree holders that have been increasing as a result of the state's endowment. The beautification of the educational situation pushes parents and pupils to higher education, leading to an acute disarticulation between occupational supply and job market demand in specific sectors. The existence of unemployed graduates has had several repercussions, such as social resentment of qualified underpaid personnel and reinforcement of

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clientalism in the society; while free education has been considered as a public good this has now turned into a well-pronounced drawback (Palios 1989).

Introduction of tuition fees for the students would have a number of positive effects, such as reduction in the number of applicants with a fetished view of the university degree, and a trend of the secondary education graduates towards the technical institutions that offer well-paid needy jobs, traditionally snubbed by parents. And although the introduction of tuition fees might be seen as a return to aristocratic education, this can be avoided by means of several safeguards and especially with a generous system of student grants that could well start from the upper part of secondary schooling. These grants would cover the tuition fees as well as a part of living expenses, that would enable able pupils who might not have the means to fund their studies. These grants could also serve as a means for positive discrimination against socio-economic inequalities in modern Greek society (Psacharopoulos 1992).

Upgrading of the academic level of higher education would also be a result of the above measures since only 'serious minded' committed students would set out to acquire a university degree, accompanied by better pay for the graduates since there will not be a plethora of professionals in a limited market. Finally, tuition fees would allow a fairer transfer of funds to the lower levels of education that play also a decisive role.

Greek Education has carried forward a different process for the occupational allocation and legitimating compared to that of the Western societies, that has primarily led to the mystification of the specific requirements for the obtaining of a satisfactory and remunerative occupation. In this respect, the educational system has served in Greece a quite unique economic and social role. In this context improvement in Greek education is called upon to confront with quite different problems than its European counterparts. The measures described above would require sober and rational legal framework, as well as careful planning, but foremost political commitment and will to free education from the state 'embrace', so that educational credentials are let to operate with their 'real' value in Greek society. This is how modernization can be envisaged in Greek education, a situation that might gradually serve as a pattern for modernization of the Greek society as a whole.

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Technical and vocational education in Greece

Introduction

The relationship between education and occupational structure has been one of the most important problems in modern societies. New economic and social realities demand citizens that are well educated, creative and can appreciate the needs and orientations of economic development. The above conditions require educational programmes with a multiform character, offering a variety of technical and vocational knowledge, in accordance with the up-to-date technological progress. Technical-vocational education (hereafter TVE) in Greece is in a stage of transition and formation, as it has no tradition, and has to cope with a number of serious structural problems. This form of education has been criticised by many people inside and outside the educational system, a situation that can be attributed to the contradictory elements of economic and social development in Greece.

The Background of Technical-Vocational Education in Greece

The history of technical-vocational education in Greece virtually begins in 1959 (Zacharis 1989). Up to then, technical education, private or public, was in a very bad condition and there were neither technical-vocational institutions, nor was any general legal provision establishing the latter. A number of technical-vocational schools was founded instead, with very low attendance (Palios 1986). The educational system was geared to the classical and theoretical studies, with very little relationship to the current needs of the market and long-term economic development. This situation might be the result of the economic and political dependence of Greece on the industrially developed countries, as Greece had no participation in the industrial revolution (Milios 1984).

After the second world war Greece was an agricultural country and the industrial development was in a primitive stage (Fakiolas 1990). During that period programmes of technical-vocational education were set up by international organisations in order to connect the country with the international market. In 1959 the Ministry of Education established and divided technical and vocational education into: (I) lower, (II) upper secondary technical and (III) further technical education. The state also established schools for the training of the teaching personnel and an institute of technical studies (Palios 1986). In 1973 the Centres of Further Technical and Vocational Education (KATEE) began operating. From the early seventies, the ministry of education attempted to use the institutions of TVE in order to modernize the economy and advocate professional specialisation. During that period Greece gradually entered the international capitalist system and many corporations and multinational companies were settled in the country.

Even though many efforts were made, TVE was not well organised and the institution struggled with stagnation and social isolation (Kokkos 1982). In 1976-77 the minister tried to confront this problem and to modernize TVE by: (a) connecting TVE with the job market; (b) directing young peoples' interest to the programmes; (c) establishing formal equality between technical and general education; and (d) consolidating through appropriate legislation the secondary and the upper level of TVE. Despite the introduction of a favourable legal framework, it was not attempted to redefine the effectiveness of the

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technical and educational network (Athanasiou 1978). The role and the status of the technician were not improved and new professional rights were not consolidated. As a result, technical schools remained a second choice for those young people who 'failed' to perform in general education.

The eighties saw another effort to change the structure of TVE and follow new, more flexible programmes. The socialist government viewed educational reform, as an absolute necessity towards the achievement of advanced technological progress, in order to achieve national modernization and autonomous development (Special Service of TEI 1984). In 1983 the Centres of Further Technical and Vocational Education (KATEE) were abolished and Technological Educational Institutions (TEI) were established. TEI consist of many specialised departments (such as engineering, food technology, agricultural studies, business management etc.), with a strong emphasis on practical training.

The above institutions were established all over the country with an attendance of approximately twenty thousand (20,000) students who participated in their programmes every year. TEI have gradually developed an academic orientation and structure very similar to that of the Higher Education Institutions (AEI) (Paratheodosiou 1990). Despite the efforts that were made the basic problem remains unsolved. The lack of organisation and the absence of specialised teaching staff and textbooks led to a comparatively poor quality of studies (Psacharopoulos & Paleokrasas 1990). In addition, higher education institutions have traditionally offered the same professional specialisation with TEI. Considering that university graduates have been preferred, the competition between TEI and AEI graduates has been at the expense of the former (Iliadis 1990). The situation forces TEI students to abandon their studies in order to enter university (Papas & Psacharopoulos 1989).

Nowadays, increased technological progress, European Community suggestions and directives, as well as the great number of unemployed among TEI graduates, create new tendencies for the modification of TEI to Technological Universities (Iliadis 1990). In this respect, TEIs are likely to follow the pattern of the British polytechnic schools, that now enjoy formal university status and the inequality between AEI and TEI graduates in education and the occupational structure will cease to exist.

CONTEMPORARY TECHNICAL-VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS: AN OVERVIEW

In order to understand the function of TVE in Greece we have to place the institution in the country's educational system. The structure of the Greek education is the following (Figure 1):

Pre-school education is offered to children aged 3 years and six months and is of two-year duration. When a child is 5 years and six months (approximately) it required to attend the elementary school for six years. After this he/she will be enrolled without examination to the compulsory three-year secondary education part (gymnasium).

The nine-year compulsory attendance at the elementary school and the gymnasium are designed and expected to give a general education. Pupils acquire a necessary introductory knowledge of language and religion, history and the sciences. After graduation from gymnasium pupils may choose to continue their studies to either general lycea, or technical-vocational lycea, or comprehensive lycea, as well as technical-vocational schools, that are of two-year duration. The lycea are of three-year duration and constitute the

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second stage of secondary education
(Bouzakis 1987).

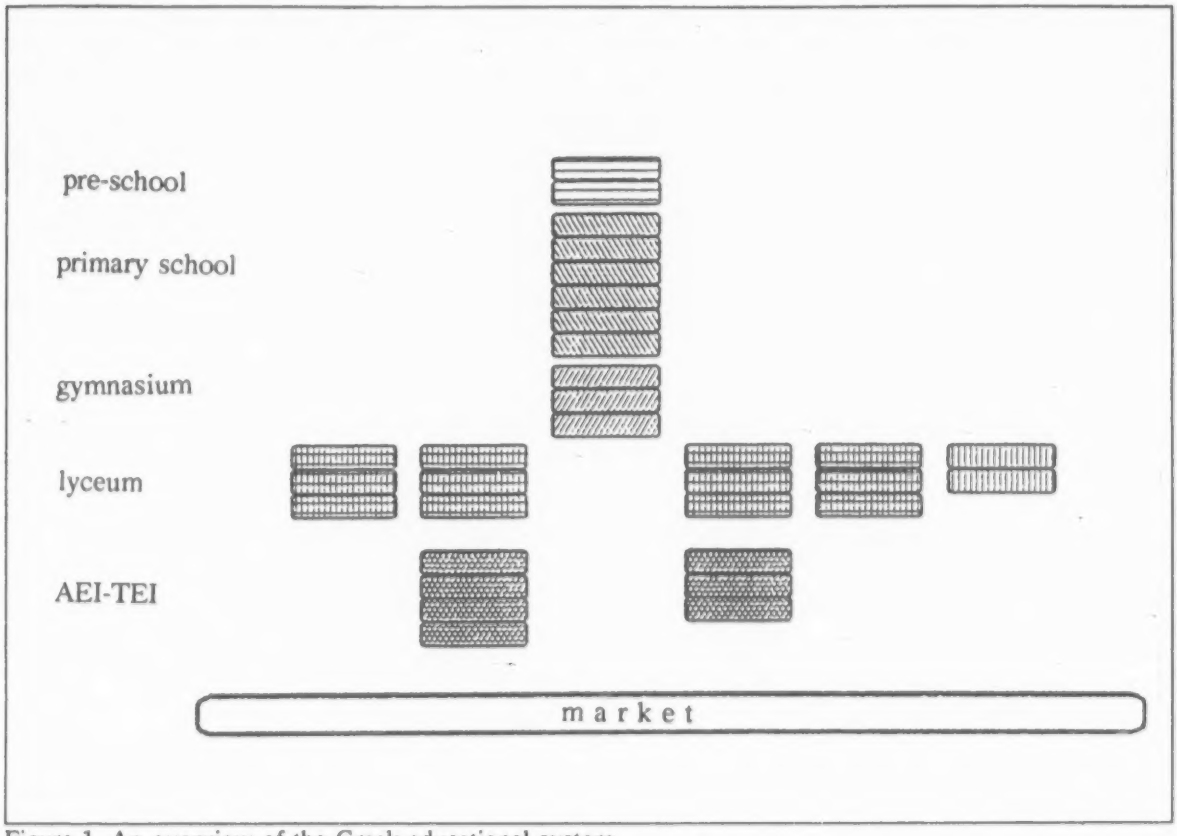

Figure 1. An overview of the Greek educational system

General lycea prepare pupils for further studies in higher education or TEIs. In the third grade of general lycea, the students sit examinations in a specific number of lessons on the subject they are interested in; for example Greek literature, ancient Greek history and Latin if they intend to study arts, or Greek literature, mathematics, physics and chemistry if they are to study science. In order to be accepted in a university or TEI, students must obtain high marks in these 'pan-Hellenic' examinations which are conducted not in each school separately but on a nation-wide scale.

Technical-Vocational Lyceum

This type of lyceum lasts also three years. The graduates of that type have a number of alternatives as far as their destinations are concerned:

(a) They can follow a specific programme and gain a certificate which allows them to set up their own business after graduation, or they can continue their studies to TEI without examinations, provided that they obtain the required high grades in their lessons.

(b) Or, they can sit examinations in order to enter AEIs or TEIs, just as the graduates of General Lyceum and have the advantage of

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lowered required grades those of General Lyceum graduates (Bouzakis 1987).

Comprehensive (Multiform) Lyceum
A modern institution for the Greek educational reality is the comprehensive lyceum which was established in the period 1980-85. This type of lyceum combines general and technical education programmes, thus connecting theory and practice and offers programmes of study in modern subject-areas.

Comprehensive lycea have several aims, which may be summarised as follows: the decongestion of the general education; the reduction of the pressure entering university; the abolition of the existing prejudices against manual work; the broadening of the view which concerns the social equality of the various types of jobs and their social usefulness; the offering of new updated scientific and technical knowledge to pupils; the development of the skills which will enable these pupils to further enrich that knowledge and adapt it to the continually; changing work conditions and various types of professions (Kostakis 1992).

In the first grade of comprehensive lyceum the lessons are the same for all students. In the second grade there are circles of studies and in the third grade the circles are specified into several subjects. Well-equipped laboratories create a new look of the traditional school (Gotovos et al. 1982). Liberal thinking and personal initiative have as a result numerous activities as publications, research, art exhibitions, etc. (Kosmidou & Zotos 1992). The students after graduation can work or can continue their studies in the third level of educational system.

Technical-Vocational Schools
Technical-vocational schools last one or two years and prepare pupils for the job market. The pupils of these schools may not participate to the examinations for higher and further education institutions. The connection between education and production is achieved with the establishment of practical work centres, where students can obtain practical training, together with the students of the technical-vocational Lycea, students of the comprehensive lycea and of the technical-vocational schools.

Other Types of Technical-Vocational Schools
There is also a large number of evening or afternoon technical or vocational schools which serve working students. These schools belong to the middle band of the educational system. There are no evening schools in the tertiary level of education in Greece.

Private Technical-Vocational Education
Side by side with state education private schools operate in Greece under the supervision of the state at all levels (pre-school, elementary, secondary and tertiary) except at university level. The role of private technical-vocational education has been reduced dramatically since 1961. This may be attributed to the fact that the Greek government does not recognise the titles and awards that are offered by the above private schools and the intensive control of the Greek state in their programmes of studies. In this way private institutions can only offer the same subjects as the state institutions and they are unable to meet the high cost of courses or they cannot take the advantage of offering new programmes of study (Psacharopoulos & Paleokrasas 1990).

ATTITUDES TO TECHNICAL-VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

The majority of Greek pupils deny following TVE although there is an increased demand for technicians of all kinds. The pupils be-

lieve that social recognition and economic profit are strongly connected with general education and the university and not with technical-vocational education or TEI (Dimitropoulos 1990). This explains the drive of all Greek candidates to enter university, as they do not view technical and vocational education as a good alternative. In fact 86% of all candidates want to follow a career in university and only 5% of the students want to continue the studies in TEI (Apostolidis et al. 1989).

This negative attitude of pupils and students toward TVE is not, however, unjustified. In spite of the fact that the equality of all types of lyceum is legislated and the graduates have the same opportunities to enter universities the reality is different. The technical schools provide unsatisfactory knowledge and preparation for the university and poor quality of studies. In addition there is a lack of co-ordination and planning and lack of suitably trained teaching staff. There is also little information and guidance when pupils complete their studies in gymnasia and must choose the type of lyceum they will follow.

As a result, there is a double distinction between general and technical education, concerning the reproduction of social and gender stereotypes in the society: first, students of technical and vocational education have low social and economic origin, and secondly, there are very small numbers of female students. The number of Greek female students of secondary technical and vocational education is the lowest in the European Community (Kassotakis et al. 1992).

The traditional distinction between male and female jobs can be well found in Greece and without any doubt this tradition reflects on the professional orientation. This can explain the academic choices of the majority of women in Greece, who study theoretical subjects, while very few of the latter follow technical educational programmes.

Adult Education and Training

In the past adult education was voluntary, occasional and accidental. Nowadays, the role of adult education is very important and is considered to be a necessary continued form of education (Vrettakou 1992). At this point, it is necessary to refer to a dilemma that concerns the relationship between formal and adult education: Must formal education provide specialised knowledge or general wide interest knowledge so that is possible for its holders to specialise or change profession without any difficulty (Papatheodosiou 1988)?

The short-term needs of the production demand that education provides specialised knowledge. Yet, long-term needs of the production demand not only a variety of basic knowledge, but also students who can develop an independent way of thinking. The personnel of technological and technical sector must be capable to adjust to the continuously changing technological, social and economic conditions (Tzekinis 1988).

The changing standards of technological knowledge demand a broad basic education and a lifelong professional training according to the work conditions. The modern enterprises do not need people who do the same standardised routine work, but people who will be educated creatively and can improvise and take initiatives (Iliadis 1990). Adult education and training was increased in the last few years when European Community started financing the Greek programmes of professional training that reached the level of 55% percent.

INSTITUTES OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING (IEK)

The institutes of vocational training started operating in 1993. These institutions may not be placed in any level of the educational system, as it is a type of non-formal education. The objectives of these institutes are the reinforcement and the modernization of secondary technical and vocational education and the provision of more specialised knowledge and skills for the full attainment of professional qualification of graduates of technical and vocational schools (Chrisanthakis & Ithakisios 1992).

TECHNICAL EDUCATION: INTERPRETATIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

In Greece education has served a different economic and social role than in other countries. Technical and vocational education at every level has traditionally been undervalued; Greeks always considered this kind of education inferior (Palios 1986). The economy is characterised by small number of enterprises, poor technological level and ill development of the tertiary sector. And in spite of the fact that the country has increased needs of specialised workers, many of the graduates of the technical and vocational schools remain unemployed (Vrettakou 1992).

Technical-vocational Education has not had the flexibility to keep up with the needs of the continuously changing industry. Moreover, it has to be considered that for the majority of the Greeks educational qualifications do not imply acquisition of specialised knowledge in a relation to a future job which would secure opportunities or individual social advancement. On the contrary, the necessity of educational qualifications provide an insurance against bad luck and hard times. Moreover, the trend among Greek parents who force their children to get an educational qualification in any sector and make use of it if necessary has to be emphasised. In this context educational experience is perceived as having an unclear and indirect connection with a future profession, which shows the low instrumentality of the educational credentials (Palios 1986 & 1992). The criterion of social acceptance prevails in the choice of educational and occupational directions. Abilities and even future benefits of graduates have been and are going to be relatively unimportant (Kalofolias 1992).

Greek society is assumed to be in transition and it would be very difficult to forecast the future of technical and vocational institution. The effectiveness of educational planning demands precisely the evaluation of economic orientations, but it is not easy to re-orientate the educational function to unexpected changes in the job market, for an educational programme requires long periods of time to be tested and integrated. Even the graduates themselves can not guess the future development of the job market and that is why they need special help and complete information. A large number of short course programmes is activated and the main aim is to offer students up-to-date knowledge and specialisation, so that they can meet the needs of the free market (Milios 1984).

Technical-vocational education can be used as technological and political instrument in order to increase the autonomy of the economy (Rallis 1990). The establishment of flexible schools which can provide individuals educated in modern subject-areas can also reduce unemployment. Technological lessons have to be introduced in compulsory education, while the establishment of institutes of vocational training is expected to solve many of the existing problems. Technically specialised people are useful not only for the needs of production, but also because understanding new age is impossible without

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knowledge of the technological evolution (Staurou 1988).

Bearing in mind that integrated technological and scientific development has been of vital importance, the social distinction between the blue and white collar workers must stop. In the modern society the dilemma between humanistic and technological studies has no place; the solution must be found within their reconciliation.

M. POLYCHRONAKI

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Is the Italian school system able to cope with complexity?

Intercultural exchanges as a case study

I would like to take the title of this meeting as a starting point of my lecture as I think that the relationship between education and modernization generates some important questions. First of all: is the Italian educational system able to cope with modernization? To answer this question we should define what we mean by the word 'modernity'.

While talking of modernization we encounter one initial important topic which is strictly connected with the debate about development. Schematically we could note that the discussion mainly is concerned with the objectives of modernization. That is: should we consider modernization as a process leading toward a 'westernized' model of development, or should we look at it as a process leading to different objectives, depending on the place in the world where such processes take place? In other words, again schematically, the debate on endogenous and exogenous development is what we are dealing with here. We will not examine these problems but we will also keep in mind that this remains a fundamental theme which stands on the background of our discussion as a big question mark.

The second important topic is concerned with the debate on modernity and postmodernity. This discussion took a great deal of intellectual energy back in the eighties mainly concerning architecture and quickly spreading over to all other humanistic disciplines. The debate is still far from coming to a conclusion and taking into consideration all the different arguments that, up to now, have been brought to support one or the other point of view would probably lead us too far. What is essential for us to note here is that, whether we talk of modernity, postmodernity, complexity, contemporaneousness or something else, some deep changes have occurred as far as 'western' societies and their cultural patterns are concerned.

With regard to the themes we are dealing with here, I must summarize the items pointed out in a scheme that was drawn up by Laura Bovone. In particular, this author points out some features that are important to the present changes: centrality/rigidity, a school-centred and juvenile formation and a stable identity are particularly related to modernity; while decentralization/flexibility, a poly-centred and continuous formation and an open identity are related to postmodernity.

In order to deal with this scheme we shall go back to the initial question, though adjusting its objective: now we must ask ourselves whether the Italian educational system is able to cope (or to teach how to cope) with the augmented complexity rising from social and cultural changes. The answer cannot be univocal even though we can point out some relevant elements of discussion.

Along with social changes, some important changes have occurred in the educational system, too. In particular, we can notice that the demand for education has grown in terms of heterogeneity. The modifications in the work reality - such as a slow loss of the centrality of work in the socialization process, the introduction of new technologies, the augmented extension of the market beyond national boundaries, the passage from an industry-centred economy to an economy based on information and so on - have occurred in a society provided with a strongly school-centred educational system: a system that

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presented a great deal of rigidity. Faced with these mutations, the Italian school did not give any effective answer and, starting from the seventies, we can notice the growth of other educational agencies that come out of marginality to acquire an increasing weight in the offer of formation. In other terms, the institutional rigidity of school could not cope with the augmented heterogeneity of demand and with the flexibility requested by the job market, and so several other educational agencies came alongside thus enabling individuals to elaborate their own educational courses.

To make this passage more evident we will now examine the case of intercultural exchanges which can be taken as a good example of what we mean and also provide some good suggestions for the future.

Before going on it must be noted that we are referring only to school-based exchanges, leaving aside such programs as professional exchanges, leisure exchanges, voluntary work, international meetings and so on that are not directly involved with the themes we are dealing with here.

There is no sociological work that specifically treats the subject of intercultural youth exchanges, but we can find good suggestions about it in what some authors have written about the sociology of strangers. In particular, the works by Simmel, Park and Shutz present some common features. It must be noted that all consider strangers in a very positive way which could be summarized in Park's 'self divided man' figure. One common objection that could be raised to all of them is that their observations are based on a dichotomic analysis that often makes us lose the various aspects of the multidimensional character of the stranger.

Elsewhere I have written more extensively about one key concept that I think will be useful to point out here. I am referring to the concept of boundary.

Briefly speaking, we can note a certain semantic schizophrenia of the term. In fact, despite several philological differences we can find in various languages a double meaning: along with a *separation* function of the boundary we verify a *binding* and *unifying* function.

Portuguese provides a clear example of what I mean: in that language the term 'divisa' points out a shared line between two neighbours. We can also translate the verb 'to border' with 'con frontarse'. In this case the semantic schizophrenia becomes self evident: the confrontation between two or more realities can take place only if the different spatial ambits are clearly identified, and the boundary, the common space, is the place where such confrontation takes place, as that is where the contact, the exchange, the share of experiences, cultures, ideas, vital strategies occur.

That is why the concept of boundary becomes central in the dialogue between different realities as it gives the possibility to build up both a cultural and interpersonal *continuum* as well as a spatial one. That is why we should consider the boundary as valid for itself (*für sich*): not only as a mere one-dimensional line of demarcation but as a multi-dimensional space, a wide territory where communicative action takes place.

If we accept the centrality of the concept we are on our way to locate a creative possibility in order to overcome the dualistic conceptual cage based on a dichotomic view of reality and which distinguishes only between 'us' and 'them', a 'centre' and a 'periphery', 'insiders' and 'outsiders'.

In this perspective it is possible to draw the potentialities of the possibility-capacity to be observer-witness of several realities, to see, to put together, compare and to carry out in a creative way different experiences,

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points of view, capacities. Living on the border (in the border) means the possibility to live (and to suffer) complexity, to turn one's horizon upside down, to perceive the perspective nature of existence; that is to have the possibility-capacity to feel oneself, to struggle, to perceive the differences and the possible solidarities, to understand social marginality, history's interstices, the multiple belongings, the different cultures, the details of life that can not be found in history books and that are not fixed by science.

We can understand that being on the border implies an overcoming of Park's 'divided self man' and a better definition of the concept may be given by talking of a 'composite self man'.

At this stage a question raises spontaneously: how do we get to be on the border? To answer this we must introduce the concept of 'culture shock' which is particularly related with the themes of intercultural exchanges. Indeed, we could say that culture shock is one key element to understand the educational value of intercultural exchanges.

Culture shock generally occurs after a certain period of exposition to another culture and it represents a crucial stage in the adaptation process to new unusual life-styles.

The expression was popularized by Kalvero Oberg to refer to the 'anxiety that results from losing all of our familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse'. Edward T. Hall has added to this definition the substitution of familiar elements with new ones. Other researchers - as Adler, Arensberg, Niehoff, Foster, La Ray Barna, Brisling, Pedersen - broadened and studied the concept from different points of view. Such studies share two common elements which can be found in the individual's experience: (a) absence of familiar conceptual elements; (b) appearance of new un familiar conceptual elements subject to misinterpretation.

The loss of familiar elements to understand reality can compromise also other people's comprehension of the subjects' actions. In other words, in an intercultural situation familiar norms that have been acquired in the socialization process may be useless or even harmful as actions do not reach the expected results.

Besides, as effectively pointed out by Janet Bennet, the only available defensive instruments are culturally determined and insisting on using them can give place to a sort of chain reaction as the sense of alienation increases as defense mechanisms only stand in the way of understanding the new situation.

At this stage we have four possible strategies of reaction:
(1) Fight: a defense mechanism is put into effect to raise a barrier between the individual and the surrounding environment;
(2) Flight: when you do not want to face a problem you run away from it;
(3) Filter: composition of the conflict and good attitude toward learning new codes;
(4) Flex: adapting means acquiring new perspectives, this results in an enrichment of communication codes and a growth of the individual's categorisation capacity.

Often these four factors are not so well detectable as different elements of these strategies are mixed or do not show externally at all, but this conceptualisation gives good hints to read the processes involved in an intercultural experience.

Moreover, Bennet assumes that culture shock can be considered as a subcategory of transition shock: 'Transition shock may be defined as a state of loss and disorientation we experience during any change in our familiar environment which requires adjustment. Culture shock, as a subcategory of transition shock, can be more easily recognized and resolved when individuals reference their previous experience with other

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life-change situations. By viewing transition shock as a challenging opportunity to examine communication patterns and increase personal flexibility, the "shock" can be channelled into personal development'.

In other words, the flexibility that has been acquired by means of other transition shocks could be useful to overcome possible cultural shock crises. We may argue that, on the other hand, culture shock itself can be useful to overcome future transition shocks.

The keyword here is flexibility: we have already seen that we can consider flexibility as a crucial feature of our present society. Moreover, we should say that flexibility is a key element to cope with complexity. It is evident that, generally speaking, the Italian school system is not able to be as effective as cultural exchanges when it comes to flexibility. This happens because the intercultural experience goes mainly through socialization processes, while school is obviously education oriented, but also because flexibility is not a suitable word to describe the Italian school system.

The lack of flexibility of the Italian school system is, once again, confirmed by its attitude toward intercultural exchanges themselves. In fact our legislation as regards public instruction is characterized by a strong presence of law which regulates every single aspect of school life, thus rigidly limiting discretionary power. The situation is made even worse as a great deal of these norms date back to a period before Italy became a democratic republic. In particular, intercultural exchanges of secondary school students are regulated by a Royal Decree dated may 4th 1925. As a matter of fact, that law leaves room for interpretation and this fact could be considered in a positive way, but it has to be said that that law actually strongly limits student's mobility because some interpretations are not well accepted by everybody, in fact the Italian bureaucracy often requires a strict adherence to law's provisions. Finally, it could also be noted that the decree was passed in a context in which there were some important differences especially regarding the Italian foreign policy. The only signs of an attempt of adaptation to the changed social, cultural and political conditions can be found in official letters of the Ministries of Public Instruction and of Foreign Affairs.

This is the legislative environment in which the agencies that deal with student exchanges operate. Notwithstanding this situation, student mobility has grown to a point that, particularly in the eighties, alongside the NGO's that traditionally promoted youth exchanges came many other commercial agencies.

The situation for university students is quite different as historically universities have promoted cultural exchanges. Besides, the agreements passed by the European Community are immediately enforceable in our law system. The results of this situation are to be found in the slow but secure success met by programs such as ERASMUS, COMETT or Yes for Europe.

So, while universities promote youth mobility from their inside, no provision exists to stimulate exchanges of secondary school students who have to turn to external agencies to satisfy their needs.

It could also be noted that this situation contributes to reinforcing social stratification for several reasons among which the most important ones are a) complete information on youth exchanges is not available to everybody; b) students from technical and professional schools often do not find correspondence between their and foreign schools' study programs; c) participation costs are often high and very few organizations offer scholarships.

Concluding, the Italian school does not promote youth mobility and there is not any

positive law provision in this sense, either. So, if we go back to the initial question, we must say that, if we accept the idea that intercultural exchanges represent an educational option to cope with complexity, the Italian school system is not able to do so. On the other hand, if we consider the Italian educational system as made of school plus other external educational agencies, then the answer could be yes, even with the limitations we have seen before.

ANDREA VARGIU

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The Italian school system

Pre-school Education

The institution of State pre-school education in Italy dates back to the 1968 legislation which set up the present system of nursery schools for children aged from 3 to 5 years. Attendance at any of the pre-school establishments is optional. Pre-school education should not involve proper 'teaching'. The aim of nursery education is to help children during the process of personal development and to prepare them to enter compulsory education.

Compulsory Education

In Italy, compulsory schooling begins at the age of six and continues until the age of fourteen, including 5 years of primary education and 3 years of lower secondary education. However, a proposal has been made by the Government to extend compulsory education from eight to ten years, that is, until sixteen years old.

Compulsory schooling is governed by national laws and regulations which apply throughout the country to both public and legally recognized private institutions. Compulsory schooling in public institutions is free of charge.

Primary education

Italian children spend the first five years of compulsory education in elementary schools (Scuola Elementare). Formal testing at the end. The primary school certificate gives access to secondary education.

Lower secondary education

The last three years of compulsory schooling take place in intermediate school (Scuola Media). This school is comprehensive and provides free education on standard lines to all children in the pertinent age range, regardless of their origin or social status. Their aim is as much to train pupils for adulthood and citizenship as for further study.

All children in this age group must attend this type of school. Pupils who repeat years remain longer than the three compulsory years: however, some drop out when they reach the age of 14.

At the end of the third year, pupils are required to take the intermediate school leaving certificate examination.

Post-compulsory Education (Upper secondary School)

Upper secondary education is intended for young people between 14 and 19 years old. After completing compulsory education, they can undertake courses of study lasting five, four or three years, after which they have the opportunity of either going on to higher education, or entering employment at middle-management level or as specialized workers. All post-compulsory schools belong to upper secondary education which consists of the following categories:

- classical, scientific and 'primary and nursery teacher training' (commonly designated as the 'classical' category);
- artistic;
- technical;
- vocational.

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Classical Type Education Classical Liceo
The aim of the Classical Liceo, according to the 1923 Decree, is to prepare pupils for University and Higher Institutes.
It comprises five years of study and consists of two cycles:
a) the 4th and 5th Ginnasio classes;
b) the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Liceo classes.

Scientific Liceo
The Scientific Liceo aims at developing and deepening the education of pupils intending to follow university studies in the faculties of science, medicine and surgery (1923 Royal Decree). Since 1968, this Liceo also permits access to all types of university training or higher education.

Primary Teacher Training School
The Primary Teacher Training School trains primary school teachers for the elementary level and permits further study at the university faculty of education. This school offers a four-year course which can, however, be completed by a fifth year, at the end of which pupils have access to certain university faculties related to the studies followed during this fifth year.

Nursery Teacher Training School
The Nursery Teacher Training School trains teachers for nursery schools and consists of a three-year course.

ARTISTIC TYPE EDUCATION

Artistic Liceo
The aim of the Artistic Liceo is to prepare pupils for the specialized study of painting, sculpture, scenography and architecture (Royal Decree 3123 of December 31 1923). It lasts for four years and it is divided into two sections: one for the study of figurative and scenographic arts and the other for architecture.

Art School
The aim of the Art School is to prepare pupils for employment and artistic production, according to tradition and the regional raw materials industries (see the above-mentioned Royal Decree). It offers a three-year course. A further two-year course has been established experimentally in certain schools.

Technical Education
The purpose of technical education is to prepare pupils to practise several professions or technical or administrative services in the agricultural, industrial, and commercial fields. There are nine different types of Technical School.

Vocational education
It is intended for 14 to 17 years old (three years of instruction), with an extension to 19 for those who follow the five-year experimental courses.

The purpose of Vocational School is to train specialized workers. In each school, particular attention is given to the local labour market.

There are five types of Vocational School. Each school comprises different qualification sections, matched to vocational profiles required by the labour market.

There are Vocational Schools for agriculture, for trade and industry, for commerce, for the hotel industry, and for 'female' professions. (The so-called 'female' courses are also open to male students in spite of their name).

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INITIAL VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Vocational training offered to young people outside the education system falls under the responsibility of Regions. The latter draw up a pluri-annual programme based on regional and national economic planning and the training needs of different sectors of economy. Both sides of industry as well as various local organizations are associated with this programme, through an advisory committee. The programme is the basis for defining an operational annual training plan.

Apprenticeship

Apprenticeship is based on a contract providing for 32 hours of work and 8 hours of training per week for 3 to 5 years. The length and content of apprenticeship are determined by collective agreements, which means that employers and unions play a considerably important role. Examinations are taken before a committee comprising an inspector from the Ministry of Labour and two representatives from the provincial employment office (employer and union).

Apprenticeship now only exists in arts and crafts and commerce.

Work-training contracts (CFL - Contratto di formazione lavoro) are intended for young people between 15 and 29 years of age. They mainly comprise an employment measure together with training provided either in the firm or in public or private external organizations.

Vocational training courses

There are around 20,000 vocational training courses planned by the Regions each year, 8,800 of them are for level 1 and 2,700 for level 2. These courses are distributed as follows:

- agriculture: 18%
- industry: 34%

Level 1 training courses aim at providing multipurpose technical skills. They lead to a vocational qualification recognized by collective agreements. The level 2 training courses are intended for those holding a level 1 qualification, and also for young people who have successfully completed State vocational or technical education.

MAIN POINTS OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN ITS HISTORICAL EVOLUTION

As it has been outlined by Sergio Piccioni, the historical evolution of the educational system can be summarized in eight main points:

(1) Apprehension is a lifetime dimension; from childhood, when every experience is taken as a knowledge resource, to maturity in which new information is rejected as old cognitions, become stereotypes, do not allow an accurate analysis.

(2) There is the need of an organized apprehension that coincides with the age of growing up in its first step but must be continued during maturity. This aspect neither reflects a common idea of education nor has it a concrete correspondence in reality.

(3) The task of providing an organized apprehension is traditionally given to school and its function ends once the individual has gained education dictated by a precise model.

(4) This situation took place until social transformation occurred in a long period of time. Since contacts with different cultures intensified and society transformed itself more rapidly, school is required to renew its model. At this point, though, it is incapable of giving a response and this is the reason why it is always behind social and economical evolution.

(5) When society continues to evolve and school falls behind, its place is taken by

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other means of communications and information which, at the end, result much more powerful. The neutrality of public school makes the supremacy of an informative oligarchy which imposes its models and its values easier.
(6) A more complex society has to compare itself with the development of new means, of new technologies, of new working forces both in quality and in quantity. A certificate becomes obsolete in a very short time because of the fast change in the work organization. During his lifetime an individual needs a certain amount of abilities which should be acquired constantly through a continuous formative process which is not provided by the normal school system. Apprehension becomes an life long need.
(7) New formative agencies, induced by the market, cover the territory, reducing the importance of the traditional school system.
(8) Technological progress requires a higher level of education in constant evolution. The progressive automation of labour reduces work-time in factories and offices, giving people more free time for a personal policy and development of their thoughts. Consequently, school has to offer a higher level of basic education.

Conclusion:
(a) The adaptation of school to a socially and culturally transformed reality is a necessary but difficult process. This problem can not be resolved only by the school system, but it has to involve all political, economical and social forces.
(b) School is not a dependent variable of the economic world: school has not to adapt itself in a passive way to external requests but it has to elaborate new values and new knowledge in an original way so as to become a source of social and cultural transformation.

FOUR CONTRADICTIONS OF THE ITALIAN SCHOOL SYSTEM

Among the different levels of school - primary, lower secondary, upper secondary, university - we have decided to focus on the secondary level because it has not been reformed in its structure since the 'Riforma Gentile' in 1923; on the other hand, students attending this school have been subjected to radical change in two different aspects:
- Number (see table 1);
- Social class of provenience.

Therefore in the secondary upper school many contradictions are dramatically patent:
(1) Modern society - not only single individuals but professional associations as well - needs and requires a wider and more flexible education for all students in order to ease the entrance of pupils into the work force, and their cyclic training (permanent education). But, in Italy, education is compulsory only till the age of 14 (8 years of school).

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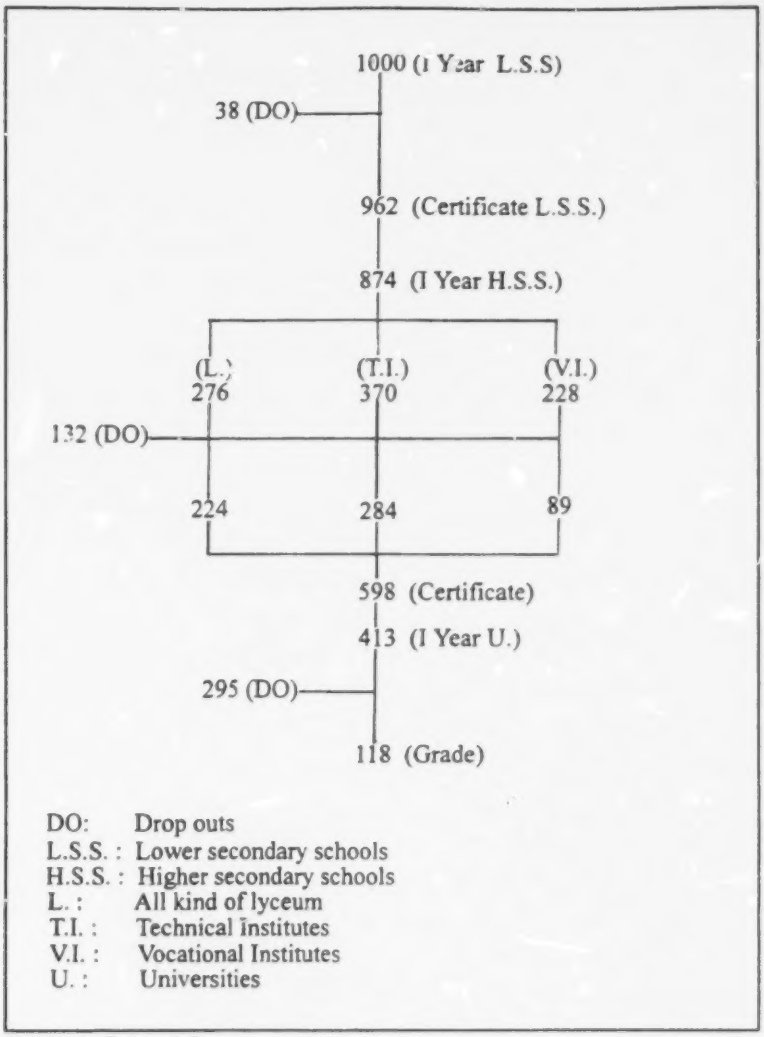

Table 1. School flows

(2) Students have to choose at a very young age - 14 - what they want to do in adult life, especially the ones who continue their studies in vocational or technical schools. We have to say that there is the 'formal' opportunity to change major before going to university: it is possible to attend university after 5 years of secondary school, it does not matter of which kind. This very early choice has negative consequences: mainly, a large number of students drop out of school because the specific branch is too difficult for them, or it does not live up to their expectations. (see table 2).

(3) Two opposite trends join together in the Italian secondary up per school: a very academical education that, because of its abstract level, in many cases, does not generate a real knowledge; a too fragmentary and specialised education ever since the first years. For example, in technical institutes students have to deal with twelve different subjects.

(4) In the nineties the school structure as a whole is the same as when it was attended by a very small elite.

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Now, on the contrary, we deal with mass schooling that has not only many more pupils but different goals and problems as well.
In order to better understand what the school system is now like we are going to summarize its historical outline.

YEAR	*STUDENTS*	*YEAR*	*STUDENTS*
1913-14	282142	1928-29	371340
1914-15	294411	1929-30	331912
1915-16	304990	1930-31	312025
1916-17	321985	1931-32	379003
1917-18	324887	1932-33	441399
1918-19	354033	1933-34	498847
1919-20	382863	1934-35	543308
1920-21	382394	1935-36	592818
1921-22	389513	1936-37	674546
1922-23	383223	1937-38	743873
1923-24	326604	1938-39	809391
1924-25	289939	1939-40	849628
1925-26	291638	1940-41	907544
1926-27	372063	1941-42	972127
1927-28	365663		

Table 2. Secondary School

HISTORICAL OUTLINE

Giovanni Gentile (1875-944)

Giovanni Gentile was a philosopher of the neo-idealistic school and Minister of education during the dictatorship of B. Mussolini. In his thought culture is the expression of the Spirit: social relations are idealized in a spiritual hierarchy inspired by an idea of aristocraticity of the Spirit, marginalizing in this way the line of thought of neo-positivism diffused in the earlier school policy.
Considered from this point of view the idealistic reform project of school was clearly the pedagogic counterpart of the conservative reaction which took place in 1915 with the Italian entrance in World War I and which was institutionalized by the rise of Fascism. The Gentile Reform was seen by intellectuals as a renewal and as a positive phenomenon: '(...) the reform is excellent and it will be the starting point for a regeneration of school (...) as it offers a rational and comprehensive approach addressed to the strengthening of the italian culture' (B. Croce, *Giornale d'Italia*, 3 Novembre 1923).

The general structure of the Gentile Reform is the following:

Gentile's Reform of Lower and Higher Secondary School (1923)

The lower secondary school includes six branches:
(1) integrative course of primary school (abolished in 1929) aimed at preparing pupils for technical school, teacher training school and scientific lyceum. Includes the study of latin.

(2) complementary school (transformed in 1929 in vocational training school)
(3) gymnasium
(4) lower technical school. Includes the study of latin
(5) lower teachers training school. Includes the study of latin
(6) art school
At the end of each branch pupils have to attend an examination.

Higher secondary school includes five branches:
(1) classical lyceum, that gives access to all university faculties
(2) scientific lyceum, that gives access to a certain number of faculties. With prevalence of literary studies and teaching of latin
(3) primary teachers teaching school, that gives access to the teacher training courses at university
(4) 'female' lyceum, with study of latin and philosophy
(5) technical schools

It can be easily noticed that vocational and technical education had not such an importance in the Gentile Reform according to his idea of school as linked to 'culture' and not with economy. His main worry was to protect the not interested cultural content from the pollution by democracy and utilitarism, steering free from the ambitious longing for knowledge of the new classes, from the exigencies of technological progress and from the comparison with other civilizations.

FROM GENTILE TO THE NINETIES

In his reform Gentile stated that technical education should prepare for a specific kind of profession; technical institutes had to train middle and high level clerks, not employees for manufacturing activities. Immediately after this reform the solution for this problem - the need of qualified technical knowledge - came from the Ministry of National Education organizing the structure of vocational education: school was divided into four different levels of practical and industrial knowledge. Many economical and administrative difficulties and a very limited interest in educational policies obstructed the real application of this measure. Things moved on when G. Belluzzo, an engineer and university teacher, became Minister of Education. He tried to lift vocational education to a higher level, in the line followed by other European programmes. He instituted the 'scuola di avviamento professionale' (junior vocational school) from the age of 11 to the age of 14, with the purpose of training 'blue collars' and lower clerks. This school is distinguished from the 'junior grammar school' that appears in Gentile's reform. After the end of World War II and the fall of fascism a lively and interesting discussion about the necessity of a new culture and a renewed education came about both in political or administrative places and on the pages of cultural magazines, and critics, repressed by the fascist dictatorship were then reconsidered and discussed by the Italian intellectuals. On the 'Politecnico's' pages (1945-1947), directed by E. Vittorini, the idea of a new culture, democratic in contents and diffusion, was formulated. School had to become a real instrument of the global democratic process. From the Constitutional Assembly, that took place in 1947, two important articles came in force, number 33 and 34.

Art. 33
'Art and science are free and free is their teaching. The Republic gives the general norms concerning instruction and creates schools for all the orders and degrees (...) Institutions of high culture, universities and

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academies, have the right to create their own statute, respecting general laws.'

Art. 34
'School is for everybody. Primary school education is given during eight years. It is compulsory and free of charge. Good students and clever ones even with no means have the right to reach the higher level of studies.'

The principle of a free and compulsory education but not its achievement was guaranteed. The political attention focused on three fundamental questions:
(1) The new structure of lower secondary school depending on the necessity to unify the junior grammar and the junior vocational into a comprehensive school.
(2) The reform of vocational education in relation to the beginning of industrialization.
(3) The reform of the obsolete secondary school.

'SCUOLA MEDIA': A SOLVED PROBLEM

The debate about article 34 - education till the age of 14 has to be free and compulsory - was longer and more complex. The discussion did not concern the first five years that composed, and still composes elementary school, but the last three. The question, a political question especially, was whether to have only a comprehensive school with both academical and technical studies or to keep a distinction between them. Moderates thought that prevocational school necessary so that students who did not continue their studies had the opportunity to start working. They referred to an idea that was already supported by Gentile's reform. There are two different kinds of school for two different social classes and a dynamic passage from one to the other is not possible. The choice of whether teaching latin at this level of school or not became a symbol of elite schools, distinguished by this element from mass schooling. Only in December 1962 Minister L. Gui decreed the institution of a single lower secondary school, the 'Scuola Media'. That was the implementation of the principle declared in the Constitution. And it was only in 1977 that latin was abolished: this lost its character of status symbol. Only one point of article 34 still remains in discussion. The article declares that school is compulsory till the age of 14 but it is not clearly expressed if the student at this age can leave school before attending the final examination. This is the reason why many young people do not own any kind of 'diploma' of that sort; however, today they have the opportunity to get it later, attending a course of 150 hours without stop working.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION: AN OPEN PROBLEM

During the fifties, Italy, coming out of the previous emergency situation found political stability and went through substantial transformations, from the first to the second industrial revolution. Society required more professional and technical knowledge. The answer was supposed to come from vocational institutes, but the project contrasted with the reality of a poor country that did not understand the importance of education as regards general and individual progress. In the project, five more years of school were added to elementary school and this seemed too much compared with the final result: an executive knowledge inadequate to a higher level of work, of responsibility. In the following years (1968-1970) students but also employers expressed the need for a closer connection between school and work. In 1977 a law decreed two or three year courses

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to complete vocational institutes curriculum with the purpose of giving students a complete cultural and executive education at the same level as technical schools. A last difference was cancelled by the introduction of the final examination having the same value as the technical one. In this way also vocational education no longer related to continuous economical transformation, lost its flexibility and adopted more fixed patterns. A great number of students attended this kind of school, sometimes with the idea of an easier school but giving similar opportunities to find a job in the future.

In many Regions of Italy, students who fail, both at the end of the 'scuola media' and during the first few years of secondary upper school, enter the vocational education system of local authorities, which, in fact, is considered the least qualified and qualifying school stream. In reality, however, the Regional training system, mainly in central and northern Regions of Italy, has been greatly transformed and improved during the last 20 years. The training centres of Regional administrations such as Lombardia, Piemonte, Emilia Romagna, Toscana and Umbria, became very flexible structures, able to change and to plan new curricula, according to the needs of the job market, much faster and more easily than the technical and vocational schools of the central government. The training centres, from a first phase during the Seventies, when they focused their attention mostly on the young deprived work force, are now centres of 'services' for technical and professional advice to the companies and enterprises of the area they serve. They run most of the training initiatives for the adult work force, or for the young and adult unemployed work force, mainly within European Community training schemes, such as the European Social Fund and the Agriculture Fund. It would be difficult to describe the large variety of regulations of different Regional governments within Italy, as vocational training and industrial training are the main fields in which Italian Regions have exercised their autonomous decision making powers. The influence of central government, however, is still evident. Regional legislation must follow the 'framework' bill on vocational training ('formazione professionale'), L.845/1978. The main aim of this bill is to harmonize the school system (which is centralized) and the training system (which is regionalized), and the preparation of the work force in all fields and at all levels to meet the requests of the job market.

This national 'framework' regulation was approved by the Italian Parliament, after many years of discussion at the end of a long period of conflict between Unions and Employers Associations. Therefore, it is already considered out-of-date and proposals for a new regulation are being discussed. Funding of the Regional plans for training is given by the central government, within the Ministry of Employment (Ministero del lavoro), which also has an important role in the process of regional applications for European Community funding.

EDOARDO BATINI
PAOLA GUGLIELMI
ANNA CHIARA LUGARINI
MARCO SOLINAS

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Contributors

(in order of appearance)

Bernard Kruithof is teaching history of education at the University of Amsterdam, Faculty of Educational Science.

Sven Erik Nordenbo is Associate Professor of Education at the University of Copenhagen, Department of Education, Philosophy and Rhetoric.

Stephan Sting is teaching at the Freie Universität Berlin.

Caroline Hetterschijt, Ilonka Sinkeldam, Astrid Valkenburg, Ilse Godtschalk, Mechel Mangelmans and *Ineke van der Valk* are studying educational science at the University of Amsterdam, Faculty of Educational Science.

Jeroen Knigge is currently preparing his PhD thesis at the University of Amsterdam, Faculty of Educational Science.

Matthias Blum, Anja Kaplyta, Melanie Schmitt and *Elke Weißer* are studying Pädagogik, Freie Universität, Berlin.

Aadu Ott works at the Department of Education, University of Göteborg, Sweden.

Annemarie D. Molina, Dorte Madsen, Hanne Hansen, Trine Ingeberg, Inge Pallesen and *Tomas Ellegaard* are students at the University of Copenhagen, Department of Education, Philosophy and Rhetoric.

Eva Szabolcs is teaching at the Department of Education, Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary.

Z.K. Palios is teaching at the Department of Elementary Education, Rethymno University of Crete.

M. Polychronaki is postgraduate student at the Department of Elementary Education, Rethymno University of Crete.

Andrea Vargiu is preparing his PhD thesis at the Università Cattolica del Sacra Cuore of Milan, Italy.

Edoardo Batini, Paola Guglielmi, Anna Chiara Lugarini and *Marco Solinas* are studying at the Università degli studi di Firenze, Italy.

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University of Amsterdam
Faculty of Educational Science

Network
Educational Science
Amsterdam

Grote Bickersstraat 72
1013 KS Amsterdam
The Netherlands
telephone (0)20 525 1233 / 1234
fax (0)20 525 1200

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